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**SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS**

NO. 11

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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS  
(No. 11)

Preface

This is a monthly publication containing translations of materials on the International Communist movement selected mainly from Communist and pro-Communist organs published in the Free World.

When adequately descriptive, the title given in the source document is used for the purposes of this publication. When a more descriptive title is necessary, the title as given in the source document is included in parentheses.

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## DRAFT POLITICAL PLATFORM OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Pamphlet with title as above.

15 November 1959

Pages 1-22

In the history of our country, profound changes have occurred during the present century. The democratic-bourgeois revolution of 1910-17 occurred, as did the economic and social reforms of the period 1935-39, which dealt a serious blow to the system of large land-holdings and prepared the way for capitalist development. Since the war we have seen a growing development of industry and the national economy as a whole. But, at the same time, our country has been maintained in a state of dependency on Yankee imperialism, a dependency which has been accentuated since the Second World War and, above all, since the governmental period from 1946-52.

In the order of state affairs, if we compare the prevailing situation in the period 1935-39, with the present situation, we see that there has been a transformation in the bourgeois forces which hold hegemony in the government. In the most recent periods of the government, the anti-national and jobber's agent roles of Yankee imperialism have been strengthened, which have displaced the sectors of the national bourgeoisie from the overall control of the State. Economic development, by following the line of submission to the North American monopolies, has worsened in extraordinary fashion the material and cultural condition of the working masses of the city and the country, especially during the last three presidential terms.

On the other hand changes of profound, historic transcendence have taken place in the world. Today there exists the powerful world socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union, which is winning victory after victory in the economic, technical, and cultural fields. Imperialism finds itself in a permanent, general crisis, whose most important manifestation is the crumbling of the colonial system. The correlation of forces in the international arena favors socialism, and the forces which fight for peace and democracy.

The changes which have taken place and, in particular, the greater interference of imperialism, as well as the anti-people and reactionary policy which the present government follows, have uncovered the social contradictions in the country, and the class struggle is acquiring ever sharper characteristics.



It is necessary to have all of this in mind in preparing the political line, the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and of its party, the Communist Party of Mexico.

#### Characteristic Features of the Economic and Political Situation of Mexico

1. At the beginning of the present century the reactionary and anti-national policy of the Diaz regime had converted Mexico into a semi-colony of the North American and British imperialists, who fought for control over the country. This situation and the fact of semi-feudal production obstructed the development of productive forces, as much in industry as in agriculture. The railroads, the public services, the mines, the banks, commerce, and factories were for the most part in the hands of foreigners. More than a third of the land of the country belonged to them.

In 1911 the total national wealth of Mexico was estimated at \$2,434 millions, of which Mexicans owned only \$793 million (32.5%), while the rest belonged to foreigners: \$1,058 to North Americans; \$321, to the British; and the rest, to the French, Canadians, and others.

According to the census of 1910, 3,441, 939 peasants--casual labor, share-croppers, tenants--who composed 95.9% of the active population of the countryside, possessed no land at all. Some 109,378 peasants, that is to say, 3% of the agrarian population, owned only 1,399,404 hectares, that is to say, 2.8% of the land, while 43,840 ranchers, or 1.1% of the agrarian population, owned 77,257,127 hectares, equivalent to 97.2% of the land covered in the census.

The policy of the bloc of reactionary landholders and foreign capitalists which the dictatorship of Diaz stood for, held up capitalist development in the city and in the countryside, making Mexico a country producing raw materials, possessed of a backward agriculture.

2. The working class and the peasants began the struggle against the regime of Porfirio Diaz, developing the strike movement of 1906-07 (especially the strikes of Cananea and Rio Blanco), and spontaneous guerrilla action. The liberal landowners, the petit bourgeois sectors of the city, and the incipient national bourgeoisie were drawn into the struggle. In spite of the fact that it began the movement, the working class could not, owing to its organic and ideological weakness, lead the other democratic forces. The liberal landowners and some sectors of the national bourgeoisie placed themselves at the head of the revolution.

The Revolution of 1910-17 was begun as a typically bourgeois revolution, under the slogans of "effective suffrage" and

"no reelection." Madero and the Liberals did not present mature, revolutionary slogans, capable of transforming the economic and political regime of the country. But as the movement developed, thanks principally to the participation of the mass of the people, particularly the peasants, who added their own claims to the movement, the revolution was converted into a democratic-bourgeois revolution.

3. The state of economic and political backwardness, the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, and the absence of a political party of the proletariat determined the limited character of the Revolution. The proposed changes placed before our country in this period: liquidation of the bases of the system of large-scale landowning, liquidation of the dependency on foreign imperialism, and the realization of radical, democratic measures--these were not realized by the Revolution.

Instead of resolving the agrarian problem in a radical way, the classes which directed the revolution tried to suppress the peasant movement, represented at that time by Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa. In the course of the movement the liberal bourgeoisie formed an alliance with the semi-feudal landowners. In essence they held the same position with regard to the working class.

The peasants, lacking the political leadership of the proletariat, developed a spontaneous and disorganized struggle for land and lacked a concrete, political program capable of binding the working masses of the city and of the countryside under responsible leadership.

4. In the period of imperialism the democratic-bourgeois revolution can only achieve full victory on condition that the proletariat gains hegemony. But by virtue of the backwardness of the country, the Mexican proletariat was weak, too few in number, and it was under the influence of petit bourgeois ideology. The political party of the proletariat had not arisen. The peasant masses lacked their firmest ally and leader.

The Revolution of 1910-17 stopped halfway and did not resolve the democratic-bourgeois tasks which had been presented to it. But the bourgeoisie achieved the principal objective which brought it to Revolution: the conquest of political power. Converted into the dominant political force, the bourgeoisie refused to comply with the demands of the people. The fundamental postulates of the Constitution of 1917 were not applied, as a result of which the democratic and popular forces continued the struggle for their realization.

The bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologists have spread the thesis of the "continuation" of the Revolution. According to them the revolution has lasted from 1910 to the present, and its representatives are the "revolutionary

governments" from Carranza to Lopez Mateos. In the strict sense, the Revolution ended in 1917 with the adoption of the Constitution and the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that its objectives were not achieved and, in part, remained unresolved up to the present, the Revolution of 1910-17 constitutes only a stage in the democratic-bourgeois development of Mexico. This point of view on the period of the Revolution is correct if we take the following thesis of Lenin as our point of departure:

"If it is used in the broad sense, one understands by period of the revolution the solution of the historic, objective tasks of the bourgeois revolution, its 'coronation,' that is to say, the elimination of the causes which engendered it, the period of the whole cycle of the bourgeois revolutions. If it is used in the strict sense, one considers in particular this or that revolution, one of the bourgeois revolutions, one of the "waves", if you wish, which struck the old regime, but which did not bring it down, which did not eliminate the causes of later, bourgeois revolutions." (V. I. Lenin, Works in Russian, Vol. XXIV, page 191).

5. The national bourgeoisie and the liberal landowners, who achieved power as a result of the Revolution, entered into an agreement with the land-owners and the North American imperialists and did not comply with the agrarian and anti-imperialist postulates of the Constitution. The land was turned over to the peasants to an insignificant degree. The best lands remained in the hands of the great, semi-feudal landowners. From 1915 to 1934 only 7,777,360 hectares of land were turned over to 783,135 peasants, of which only 312,772 hectares, or 4%, were irrigated land, and 1,921,118, or 24%, had adequate rainfall. The rest was pasture lands, forests, and unproductive lands. For 1934 the official statistics recognized the existence of more than 3,500 landholdings of more than 1,000 hectares.

The process of foreign capital penetration continued. By 1929, the year in which the world economic crisis began, foreign investments in the country had risen to \$2,214 million.

6. During the period of the world economic crisis from 1929 to 1933, it was clear that the upper layers of the bourgeoisie and the landowners had fallen under the yoke of dependency on North American imperialism, renouncing the independent development of the country. Under these conditions a new wave developed in the struggle of the working and peasant masses against the dictatorship of Calles and his marionettes. That sector of the national bourgeoisie which had been strengthening itself and which fought for the independent development of the country and the elimination of the feudal bonds which restrained economic development, as well as the petit bourgeois

layers, found themselves obliged to oppose the policy of surrender to imperialism and of compromise with the landowners who occupied the seats of the government.

7. A new regrouping of forces took place, which brought the national bourgeoisie to power. Under the pressure of the working and peasant masses, turned radical as a consequence of the economic crisis, and responding to their own class interests, affected by imperialism and the great force of large-scale landowning, the government of Cardenas began the realization of a series of reforms. The penetration of imperialism was halted. It is the only period in which the economic power of the foreign monopolies has been reduced. As a result of the actions of nationalization which occurred during this period, U.S. private investments in Mexico fell to \$358 million by the end of 1940, that is to say, by more than 50%. In the petroleum industry, the total value of U.S. investments fell from \$206 millions to \$42 million, and to \$5 million in 1943, although the interference of foreign capital continued to show itself in the petroleum debt, which is still being paid.

8. In this period the Agrarian Reform was promoted in our country, and this dealt a decisive blow to feudal ownership of land. From 1935 to 1938 14,978,197 hectares of land were distributed to 807,064 peasants. But the Mexican Agrarian Reform has not been of as much benefit to the peasants as to the bourgeoisie itself. A great layer of bourgeois sprang up in the countryside, who possess the best land, while the ordinary landowners in the majority of regions have only small pieces of bad land. The bourgeoisie assured itself of the organic and political control of the peasant masses through the stipulations of the Agrarian Code, and by means of credit it guaranteed high interest rates and good returns from the sale of the harvests. The ordinary landowner is subject to the multiple exploitation of the bourgeoisie, the State, and the foreign monopolies, which control the sale of the principal industrial products, such as cotton.

9. But the reforms which took place in the period 1935-39 did not liquidate the material bases of the domination of the foreign capitalists and the semifeudal landowners. Already at the end of 1939 and especially beginning in 1940 the national bourgeoisie again reached an agreement with the North Americans and internal reaction. The distribution of land ceased, and the doors again were opened to foreign capital.

The national bourgeoisie reached a convenient limit for its narrow class interests.

The situation of the Mexican bourgeoisie in this period, and the historical experience of other countries, show that the national bourgeoisie is incapable, in our time, of carrying

to the finish the struggle for full economic liberation with respect to foreign imperialism, and for the destruction down to the roots of feudal relationships. The bourgeoisie stops halfway and calls for conciliation and compromise with the imperialists.

Only the working class, led by its class party, the Communist Party of Mexico, in alliance with the peasants and the other popular forces, can carry through economic and political independence of action to its conclusion. No other force can properly lead this fight.

10. The reforms applied from 1935 to 1939, particularly insofar as they refer to the regime of landowning, promoted the domestic market and stimulated the development of capitalism in the city and the countryside. Since then, the agrarian bourgeoisie has developed with extraordinary strength.

From 1939 to 1954 the volume of national production rose by approximately 153%. Nevertheless, in some industrial areas, a considerably greater development has taken place. For example, the production of the steel industry (iron and steel) by 1957 had increased to 730.7%, with relation to 1939. The electric capacity of the country grew to 2,560,253 KW in 1958 which, compared with 1940, represents an increase of 276%. The textile industry, in spite of the crisis in which it has found itself since the end of the war, by 1950 had risen to 166.4% of the production in 1939.

Agricultural production by 1957 had reached a level of 242.4% of the production of 1939. The mechanization of agriculture increased. Whereas there were 4,549 tractors in 1940, in 1958 there were more than 60,000. In spite of that, 75% of the supplementary energy employed in agriculture came from draft animals in 1950 and only 25% was generated by tractors.

11. The relative development of the Mexican economy during the last 20 years offers three principal characteristics: (a) The super-exploitation of the working class and of all the working layers, and the restriction of their democratic rights; (b) The daily-growing economic dependence with respect to North American imperialism; (c) the development of State capitalism.

While national production has risen considerably, the living level of the workers has descended in an inverse proportion. Where in 1939 the participation of the workers and salaried personnel in national income amounted to 30.5% and profits to 26.1%, in 1958 the proportions were reverse, with 23% pertaining to wages and salaries, and 44.1% to profits.

In 1950, according to official data, 86% of the economically active part of the population had an income of less than 300 pesos per month; 12.6% had from 300 to 1,000 pesos monthly;

while the remaining 1.4% received more than 1,000 pesos. On the other hand, from 1939 to 1957 the articles of primary necessity experienced a rise in price of 966 points, while the index of nominal salaries only rose by 469 points during the same period. This means that real salaries are now about 50% less than those in 1939. This reality is so evident that one of the leaders of CONCAMIN / Sic; not otherwise identified--TN/ recognized in 1956 that: "Since 1945 our economy has grown by 50% and nevertheless....50% of the Mexican people have a living level equal to or less than what they had 50 years ago."

It is necessary to add to this the growing increase of unemployment, resulting from the profound crisis which important branches of industry are undergoing, such as mining, the textile industry, the shoe industry, construction, and others, which contributes to lower the living level of the whole working class.

Due to the loss of real income, a large number of workers are obliged to seek double employment and to work extra hours, which considerably increases the working day.

Those who have benefited from the relative economic development, which the bourgeoisie exaggerates, have been the great North American monopolists, and the smaller number of middle bourgeois and big national capitalists.

In the countryside the situation is not any different. The fundamental orientation of the policy of the governing classes has been to create and develop a considerable agrarian bourgeoisie as their principal prop in the countryside. This agrarian bourgeoisie has gained possession of the best land, above all that which is found in the irrigated districts. In the irrigation district of Culiacan, for example, the ordinary land holders (more than 4,500) in 1957 possessed 24,632 hectares, that is, 26%, while the bigger landowners (only 1,648) owned 69,369 hectares or 74% of the land. The same situation can be observed in the great majority of irrigation districts.

Another objective of the bourgeoisie was the creation of a mass of customers in the countryside, that is, the formation of a domestic market for the products of industry.

In the countryside a big bourgeoisie has also arisen which has thousands of hectares worked in capitalist style. This group is concentrated in the areas producing raw materials for industry, such as cotton. It is connected to the imperialist monopolies, from which it receives credits, machinery, although as difficulties grow in selling its products on the international market, the interests of this bourgeois group enter into contradiction with the foreign monopolies and this group begins to speak out openly for the diversification of foreign commerce.

Finally, there exist in the Mexican countryside important, semi-feudal remnants, which obstruct the development of the productive forces. This refers principally to the great, unproductive landholdings which are still maintained in some regions, above all in the central and southern part of the country. And the governing bourgeoisie refuses to divide these lands among millions of peasants who have no land.

The complete destruction of large landholdings and their free delivery to the peasants is one of the most important tasks which should be completed, to stimulate the economic development of the country. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to go on characterizing Mexico as a semifeudal country, since the fundamental forms of exploitation of the land are capitalist forms. From this point of view Mexico could be characterized as a country with a capitalist agricultural system of low productivity, and with important semifeudal remnants.

Although it is an important task for the present, the liquidation of the semifeudal remnants cannot be considered the fundamental objective of the revolution, for the principal cause which restrains the development of the productive forces, determines the economic backwardness of Mexico, and the misery in which the masses live, rests in the exploitation of the imperialist monopolies over the whole Mexican people, including the peasants, through credits, monopoly control of prices, and other forms.

#### The Economic Dependency of Mexico

1. Beginning in 1939 a new process of subjugation of the Mexican economy to the big foreign monopolies, especially North American, began. Already, at the end of the Cardenas regime, the bourgeoisie had abandoned the path of nationalization of foreign enterprises and the defense of the national economy, to take the route of each time greater concessions to imperialist capital.

Since then the inflow of imperialist capital has increased in greater proportion than in the past. From 1939 to 1957 \$680 million have entered the country in direct new investments, as a result of which the total amount of direct foreign investment, according to revised official data, in 1957 amounted to \$1,200 million. In 1957 the foreigners had investments in Mexico totaling \$1,971 million, of which \$1,713 million were long-term (\$1,200 million in direct investments and \$513 millions in credits and State debts) and \$258 million were short-term.

The imperialist capital is entering fundamental areas of the economy and is becoming of decisive importance in branches as important as the processing industry, in which it previously had no importance.

The government policy of industrialization has been of benefit, not so much to truly national industry, as to the North American monopolies, which have taken advantage of the exemptions from payment of taxes and the "proteccionist" measures of the Mexican Government, in order to compete in an advantageous manner with true national industries and ruin them. North American capital and branches or subsidiaries of the great international monopolies constitute the great majority of the new enterprises and factories. In many of the so-called mixed enterprises "straw men" appear, in the form of Mexican stockholders, in order to cover up the predominance of Yankee capital.

Whereas in 1950 foreign investment in the processing industry amounted to 11% of the total invested, four years later, in 1954, this proportion had already risen to 19%. Whereas in 1939 foreign investments in the processing industry amounted to \$26.2 million, by 1955 the figure had risen to \$315 million, that is, it had grown by 1,102%. Its growth has been several times more rapid than that of total investment in this branch of industry.

2. Mexico is subject to the most unbridled imperialist looting. The direct and indirect investments of North American monopolies signify de facto the super-exploitation of the whole Mexican people. In the period from 1939 to 1955 new direct investments took place, to the value of \$507.8 million, plus \$77.5 millions in the form of credit accounts between companies, which gives a total of \$585.3 million brought into the country. In the same period \$541.3 millions in dividends were paid out and \$179.7 millions in interest and royalties, giving a total of \$721 million. This meant a deficit of \$135.7 million, which the foreign companies took out of the country, besides regaining the entire investment made.

3. The dependent character of the Mexican economy and the degree of penetration of foreign capital in its principal branches stand out when one studies the enterprises which have the greatest income in the whole country. According to data of the National Chamber of the Processing Industry / Camara Nacional de la Industria de Transformacion /, of the 31 enterprises with income greater than 100 million pesos annually in the country, 19 or 61% represent foreign capital, and only 12 or 39% represent national capital. Of the 43 enterprises which have annual incomes between 50 and 100 million pesos annually, 22 are foreign and 21 are national. Of the 168 firms which have annual incomes between 20 and 50 million pesos, 70 are foreign and 98 are Mexican.

It is necessary to add that even many of the enterprises which figure as Mexican have strong participation by foreign capital.



4. That the immense majority of the foreign enterprises are subsidiaries of the powerful imperialist trust brings in consequence an increase of their dominance in the economic life of the country, for it permits them to compete advantageously with national enterprises.

Utilizing the vast resources of which they dispose, the foreign enterprises have displaced national enterprises in some cases and are displacing others in other cases. The following are the resources which they use: a) control and export of a variety of raw material; b) favoritism in supply, on the part of foreign enterprises which control raw materials, to enterprises which are also foreign; c) priority in the supply of raw materials which come from overseas, while national enterprises find themselves unable to obtain them; d) establishment of price levels which the Mexican entrepreneur finds it difficult to maintain, with the object of gaining control of the market; 3) dumping as an instrument of commercial policy; f) deployment of the enterprise towards other activities traditionally in the hands of Mexicans (the case of Sear's Roebuck); g) availability to them of great resources for advertising; and h) preference in obtaining ample credit from the banks and facilities to issue securities which they circulate in the national market.

It is unnecessary to say that these great facilities which the foreign enterprises have in the competitive struggle permits them to increase their power, monopolizing more and more sectors of the national economy.

5. Another characteristic feature of imperialist penetration is the looting of raw materials, that is to say, irrational exploitation at the least cost of the natural resources of the country, as in the case of sulphur and other minerals.

6. An important feature of the economic dependence of Mexico is its foreign commerce. For many years Mexican foreign commerce has been monopolized by the United States, which has the most disastrous repercussions on the national economy, and our commercial balance shows an unfavorable balance in a chronic way.

7. The dependency of Mexico with respect to North American imperialism shows its negative effects in the repercussions of the North American crisis which began in 1956. In fact, any shaking of the North American economy immediately affects the Mexican economy. For example, taking as a point of departure that the mining industry has been in a permanent crisis since 1939, the general index of mining production, taking 1939 as 100, was 99.2 in 1957. In the majority of the non-ferrous metals great declines took place in the period 1956-58.

For example, the production of zinc dropped from 287,887 tons in 1956 to 224,105 in 1958, or 22%; that of lead fr.

2.4,877 in 1957 to 201,924 in 1958, that is, 7%; that of antimony, by 47.2% and that of bismuth, by 46.8%.

The same thing can be said of the textile industry, the production of coffee, the shoe industry, and other important branches of the economy. The decline in the cultivated area of cotton, which amounted to 40% in many zones, is an outstanding example. In this farm year (1958-59) it has been reduced by a half million bales.

8. The foregoing shows that Mexico is a country subject to economic dependency on the North American monopolies, that the police of the governing classes tends to increase this dependency, although it is meeting the opposition of increasingly broad groups of the bourgeoisie itself and that only the proletariat, in alliance with the peasants and the patriotic forces of the nation, can take our country out of such a situation and convert it into an independent country in the economic and political field.

The Mexican State, the Governing Classes, and the Government of Lopez Mateos

1. The character of the State, the political regime, and the composition of the government, are a reflection of the degree of capitalist development which Mexico has reached, a reflection of the characteristics and peculiarities of that development, and a reflection of the strengthening and consolidation of the power of the Mexican bourgeoisie.

The present State regime of the country is a bourgeois regime which represents the interests of the dominant classes of present Mexican society, principally the capitalist sectors in league with North American imperialism and the landowners, as well as, in secondary form, of the national bourgeoisie interested in the independent development of the national economy.

2. With the economic development of the last several years, the big bourgeoisie group has been consolidated. This layer, enriched through the super-exploitation of the Mexican people, has been formed in close relationship with the North American monopolies. Having left the sector of the national bourgeoisie more tied to the State apparatus, it has entered into connivance with North American imperialism in the exploitation of the country, abandoning the nationalist position which it had at the beginning of its formation. Now this bourgeoisie is more fearful of the working class and the popular masses than imperialism.

The economic strength of this layer of the bourgeoisie and of invested North American capital constitute the true power in our country. The last few governments, particularly those of Aleman, Ruiz Cortines, and Lopez Mateos, respond fundamentally to the interests of these economic sectors. Their origin, that is,

the fact of having come from the very ranks of the national bourgeoisie, makes them maintain, together with a policy of concessions to imperialism, a policy of violation of democratic rights and the pauperization of the masses, a demagogic way of speaking, a "revolutionary" mask to deceive the workers and sail under the flag of the "revolution become a government." But their fundamental policy is subjection to imperialism.

3. The interests of the big financial, agrarian, and commercial bourgeoisie, associated with foreign capital, particularly North American capital, predominate in the Mexican State and, as a consequence, determine its policy.

Some representatives of the national bourgeoisie also take part in the Government, although they do not decide the fundamental direction of its policy. This layer of the bourgeoisie has, as a whole, contradictions with imperialism. Nevertheless, it is necessary to differentiate some of the sectors within this layer, in accordance with their real political position. One section of this bourgeoisie opposes foreign investment, loans under onerous conditions, the participation of imperialist capital in the nationalized enterprises, and even speaks out on occasions against some of the anti-democratic and anti-people measures of the Government. Another sector decidedly supports the domestic policy of the Government, its reactionary measures, and it timidly asks for a "regulation", a "study" of foreign investments, so that it will not invade the spheres in which the national bourgeoisie is interested. An example of this last is the position adopted by some representatives of the commercial bourgeoisie at the last congress of the CONCANACO [Abbreviation not identified --TN\_].

The national bourgeoisie as a whole is not opposed in a decided manner to the policy of the Government. Indeed, its representatives, in particular from its most democratic, progressive, and patriotic sectors, are found within the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional--Institutional Revolutionary Party, the government party in Mexico--TN\_] and the state apparatus, although on certain occasions they express differences with the Government line.

The position of the national bourgeoisie as a whole means that it intends to resolve its contradictions with the policy of the Government, not on the basis of a resolute struggle, but rather, in general, by means of conciliation. Nevertheless, the objective process of developments daily sharpens the contradictions between these two fundamental layers of the bourgeoisie. It would be incorrect not to see this process and to conceive of the bourgeoisie as a single unit.

The historical development of the national bourgeoisie has demonstrated its lack of consistency in the struggle against imperialism, its tendency to compromise, and to conciliation. It has also demonstrated the anti-democracy of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, with minor exceptions on the part of some of its representatives.

In this position of the national bourgeoisie, the degree of development of the internal contradictions plays a determining role. Together with the development of the bourgeoisie, the industrial and agricultural proletariat has also grown in Mexico. This class historically is a menace, not only to imperialism and its representatives, but also to the national bourgeoisie itself. The ruling sectors of the big financial, industrial, and agrarian bourgeoisie, which is conciliatory with imperialism, defends, from the class point of view, the interests of the whole bourgeoisie in its domestic policy, by suppressing the struggle of the working class and persisting in the policy of state control of the organizations of the working class.

The fact that the national bourgeoisie has arisen in the historical arena when capitalism had become an expiring and dying system reinforces its anti-people and anti-democratic tendency, its reactionary side.

4. The dominant bourgeois sector is to be found in the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the state organism which is a prolongation of the Revolutionary National Party /Partido Nacional Revolucionario/, which emerged in 1929 to unite the so-called "revolutionary family," that is, the bourgeois groups which were contesting for power. The reactionary changes which have occurred in the policy of the official party are nothing but the reflection of the consolidation of the big bourgeoisie in power.

The fundamental line of this party corresponds to the interests of the reactionary layers which control its leadership. Our Party must combat and unmask its demagogy. In spite of the fact that workers, peasants, as well as elements of the national bourgeoisie and of the urban petit bourgeoisie belong to it, these elements do not decide its political line.

In fighting against the policy of the PRI, our Party must adopt a proper attitude towards the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are found within it, calling on them for unity in concrete cases and stimulating their opposition to the reactionary policy of the PRI as a whole, at the same time criticizing their vacillations and irresponsible actions.

Some sectors of the national bourgeoisie have tried to join together in an independent way to take part in political

life. This is the case with the "National Economic and Civic Movement" [Movimiento Civico Economico Nacional]. Nevertheless, these groupings have not developed very far, and their participation in national political life is practically nil.

The Popular Party [Partido Popular] includes sectors of the petit bourgeoisie within its membership, and its policy corresponds to the interests of this class. As a whole, it constitutes a progressive and democratic force, with which we should work in alliance.

The Popular Party has an anti-imperialist program in favor of the defense of peace, of the democratization of the country, of raising the living levels of the people, of stimulating the Agrarian Reform, and of friendship with the world of Socialism. Nevertheless, the Popular Party follows the line of support for the Government, and conceives of a single, anti-imperialist front under the Government's direction.

In trying to form an alliance with the Popular Party, our Party should make clear to the masses the falseness of that Party's policy with regard to the Government, without considering this as an obstacle to unity on those questions on which we coincide.

A sector of the financial, landowning, and middle bourgeois layers of the bourgeoisie has been formed around the National Action Party [Partido de Accion Nacional]. This is the instrument of the political clergy, which is trying to install a "Christian Democracy" in our country. Together with the Sinarchists, who represent the interests of semifeudal reaction, they constitute the most reactionary group in our country.

In its electoral campaigns the PAN takes advantage of administrative corruption and the anti-democratic methods of the Government to attract the masses. Nevertheless, it directs the line of its policy against the intervention of the State in the economy, against the positive aspects of State capitalism, against the Agrarian Reform.

It is a reactionary party which serves the interests of imperialism, of the landowners, and of the clergy.

The Government has granted the status of national parties to groups such as the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution [Partido Autentico de la Revolucion Mexicana] and the Nationalist Party [Partido Nacionalista], which lack true influence among the masses and serve the interests of the Government and of the official Party in one way or another. Their influence in national political life is almost nil.

5. The development of an agrarian bourgeoisie, with great economic power, has also created a great agricultural proletariat.

the working class in the countryside. According to estimates, at present there are more than 1.6 million agricultural workers.

During 1958 and the beginning of 1959 there were great demonstrations of the working class and the peasants in defense of their rights. The majority of them were against the enterprises of State capitalism; others were against landowners and the big bourgeoisie in the countryside. The bulk of the bourgeoisie supported the Government in the struggle to suppress these movements. The material premises for an increase in these contradictions lie in the relative economic development achieved by our country during the last 20 years. The working class has strengthened itself from the numerical point of view, its concentration has grown, and its living conditions have deteriorated.

6. Under these conditions the Government of Lopez Mateos came to power. The process of concentration of power in the hands of the most powerful layers of the financial bourgeoisie reached a very intense level in this period.

As a result of this process and of the intention of the governing bourgeoisie to prevent the development of the struggle of the working class and the mass of the people, Lopez Mateos and his principal collaborators in the Government, reached agreements with North American imperialism which are more injurious to national sovereignty than was the case during the previous administrations, including that of Aleman. This line of the Government's policy is clearly seen, beginning with the Lopez Mateos-Eisenhower interview in Acapulco. The policy of North American loans, followed by the previous administrations, acquires anti-national characteristics in the Government of Lopez Mateos: the petroleum wealth has been mortgaged, in fact, a thing which the previous administrations had not dared to do. On the other hand, it is known that throughout the history of independent Mexico, foreign debts have played a negative role, contrary to the economic political development of the country. The open door policy for Yankee investment has inundated the principal branches of the national economy.

In the agrarian field, the Government of Lopez Mateos is trying to open the door for private capital to take a decisive role in the exploitation of communally-owned land, through the organism called the National Communal Land Patrimony / Patrimonio Ejidal Nacional / and the Law for the Application of Article 27 of the Constitution, proposed by Senator Manuel Moreno Sanchez, and to liquidate the collective exploitation of the land.

Since the beginning of his administration, Lopez Mateos has unleashed the most reactionary, anti-worker, anti-democratic offense of the last decades. Individual rights have been

practically suspended, and action is being enthusiastically undertaken involving the persecution, jailing, and assassination of members of the Communist Party, of the Workers-Peasant Party, and of independent leaders of the workers.

The Government of Lopez Mateos is, thus, the government of the big financial, agrarian, and industrial bourgeoisie, an agent for foreign monopolies. Representatives of the national bourgeoisie, who comply with the interests of the big bourgeoisie, take part in his government, although they do not determine its policy. In any case, this indicates that certain contradictions and internal struggles are taking place within the government itself, but these are not yet manifest in the form of open conflicts, due to the conciliatory position of the national bourgeoisie.

But as the national interests are affected and in particular those of some sectors of the national bourgeoisie, some of whose layers are beginning to express their discontent, the possibility is growing of joining these forces with those of the proletariat in the struggle against the policy of surrender to imperialism, which the governing bloc is following.

During the first year of his administration, Lopez Mateos has applied an anti-people, anti-democratic political line featuring growing concessions to the North American imperialists. The breaking of the railroad strike, the persecution unleashed against the workers' and democratic movement, and in particular against our Party, the negotiation of loans for the nationalized petroleum industry, and his constant meetings with representatives of the North American monopolies, make it appear that the present government is on the road towards complete subjection to the dictates of imperialism, and that if the mobilization of the masses does not prevent it, it will march on to the betrayal of national interests and the installation of a military and police dictatorship.

#### Concerning the Strategy and Tactics of the Party in the Present Stage

1. The situation as described shows that the principal contradiction facing Mexican society at present is that between the Mexican people, on the one hand, and Yankee imperialism and its domestic agents on the other, these last represented by the big comprador bourgeoisie, the anti-national sectors, the remnants of large-scale landowning, and the political clergy. North American imperialism is the principal enemy of the independent economic development of Mexico, of the progressive development of our country, of the improvement of the living conditions and working conditions of our people, of the democratization of their political regime.

This contradiction tends to deepen as a result of the growth of imperialist penetration and exploitation in Mexico, as a result of the greater pressure from the governing circles of the United States to impose on this country their policy of vassalage and to dictate the process of development which is convenient to the interests of the Yankee monopolies. This contradiction also tends to deepen as a consequence of development and the economic changes which have taken place in Mexico and the growth of national capitalist forces, whose interests are increasingly damaged by the Yankee monopolies.

In Mexico and in the present stage of its development, the contradiction between the productive forces and the conditions of production is reflected principally by its economic dependence on North American imperialism.

2. Although the antagonism between Yankee imperialism and its agents and the Mexican people is the principal contradiction, nevertheless, it is not the only one which exists at the present stage of the historical development of Mexico.

There also exists the contradiction between the development of productive forces and the relationships of production in agriculture in various areas of the country, as a result of the fact that there are still semifeudal remnants, and large-scale landholding has still not been totally destroyed.

In this way is derived the contradiction between the peasants and the land-owners, which is expressed in various forms of class struggle in the countryside, in the intensification of the struggle of the peasants for land and their other claims.

There also exists the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the city and in the countryside, which is expressed in the various forms of class struggle between the working masses and the capitalists who exploit them.

An important contradiction is that which exists between the economic and social development that has taken place in the last 20 years and the backward and anti-democratic political regime, based on the mockery of the will of the people and on the electoral monopoly which the present Federal Electoral Law legalizes. The concentration of almost limited /Sic; probably should read "unlimited" --TN/ powers in the hands of the President, the submission to his will of the legislative and judicial branches of the government, and exacerbated political centralism are expressions of this contradiction.

Under the present conditions in Mexico, these contradictions are manifesting themselves with growing sharpness. Nevertheless, there have been and are notable efforts made by the governing bourgeoisie to deny their existence and shield them with a heavy demagogic curtain, to prevent principally the working class and the peasants from becoming aware of their existence and having sufficient understanding to face up to them.



3. Under prevailing conditions, the contradiction on which depend the economic and social development of Mexico, the development of the productive forces, and social progress, is the contradiction between the people and North American imperialism and its domestic agents.

To resolve this contradiction it is necessary to end interference and control on the part of the Yankee capitalists and break out of the oppressive circle of North American imperialism.

At the same time it is indispensable to resolve the antagonism between the semifeudal remnants and the development of the relationships of production in agriculture. It is also necessary to resolve the antagonism existing between the needs of social development and the backward and anti-democratic electoral political regime, which is restraining social progress and the democratization of the country.

The Historical need to resolve the contradiction between the people and imperialism and its agents determines the immediate objective of the Communist Party of Mexico and the working class: the full economic and political independence of Mexico, the installation of a new type democratic regime which would be the guarantee and instrument to secure the accomplishment of this task.

The North American imperialists and their domestic agents, as well as the large landowning remnants, are the principal enemies of the Mexican people and of their progress, whom it is necessary to defeat so that the workers, the masses of the people, and the nation as a whole can be developed, can basically improve their situation, and create the conditions for a juster social order, which would give the Mexican people full national and social liberation.

The basic demands and claims of the working class and of the mass of the workers are closely and directly linked to the achievement of the principal task of this stage of the historical development of Mexico: the achievement of economic independence as a condition for the people of Mexico to obtain their full self-determination, to decide for themselves the course of their foreign policy, and to achieve a democratic political regime.

Therefore, it is indispensable first of all to liberate the country from the yoke of the North American imperialists and to carry out fundamental democratic changes in Mexico, which would free our country from that central obstacle to its progress, and which would put an end to the semifeudal remnants in the country-side, to open a broad path for the development of the productive forces.

The struggle for national liberation, the destruction of the semifeudal relationships, and the democratization of the country

go together and present themselves simultaneously and immediately before the working class and its party, the Communist Party of Mexico.

The North American imperialists and their domestic agents are trying by every means to present and to place obstacles in the way of national liberation and the independent progress of Mexico, in order to continue exploiting and looting the country. At the same time these forces are trying to maintain their privileges with the support of the Yankee imperialists. They are all interested in ensuring that the workers, the democratic and progressive forces, the masses of the people have no rights and that democratic freedoms be restricted and even nullified in practice. By a policy of restriction of democratic freedoms, by oppression and reaction against the independent workers and peasants movement, against the masses of the people, they are trying to close off the path to the democratic, patriotic, and anti-imperialist struggle of the Mexican people, and to impede the entry of the authentic representatives of the working class into the organs of state power, as, for example, the national and local legislative bodies. A feeble, fictitious "democracy," proclaimed only on paper and in official speeches; a reactionary, backward political regime, monopolized by the conciliatory forces and allied to imperialism, and for the forces which impede progress and national liberation, is that which most serves North American imperialism to continue its exploitation in the country.

Only by freeing Mexico from the penetration and domination of North American imperialism and by achieving a political regime which will express the legitimate interests of the people and of the forces of national liberation, will the Mexican people be able to ensure that Mexico will operate with its own and an independent policy in international bodies, free from the tutelage of the imperialist bloc, headed by the United States. This will make it possible to join the actions of our country to those of all those nations and peoples who fight resolutely for peace and against war, for full national liberation, and against imperialism. Mexico in this way will regain her position in the front rank of the nations which fight for the liberty and sovereignty of the peoples and, above all, its place of combat in the great anti-imperialist revolution which has already begun, is winning victories, and is developing in Latin America.

Therefore, Mexico needs a democratic government of national liberation which will be the instrument of the Mexican people in achieving the economic, social, political, and cultural changes which the needs of the historical development of the country and the largely unsatisfied demands of the people require. There is no other way to achieve such changes.

4. The transformations and the economic, social, political, and cultural changes which the present situation in the country demands can only be achieved through revolution. The principal contradictions which confront present Mexican society and which require a radical solution, imply qualitative changes, both in the State as well as in the economic regime. Such changes of quality, that is, in the character, structure, and composition of the economic and political regime, can only be realized through that revolution.

The new revolution which Mexico needs must be, above all, a democratic revolution, of national liberation, an Anti-imperialist revolution, also directed against the semifeudal remnants. It will be a revolution of a new kind, since it will set out to achieve the essential transformations derived from the present, historical needs of Mexican society, using as its instrument and basing itself on a state power, on a government of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces of national liberation, under the leadership of the working class. Consequently, it will not be a socialist revolution. At the present stage of the revolution in Mexico the question is not that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be resolved in a radical way. From this we draw the conclusion that the installation of a socialist regime in our country is not on the schedule. Nevertheless, the fact that the democratic revolution of national liberation will be led by the working class establishes the bases for its later transformation into a socialist revolution.

The process of the democratic revolution of national liberation will not be that of the liquidation of the existing economic-social regime, but rather that of the gradual accumulation of profound and responsible changes within the present economic and social regime, until we arrive at the radical, socialist transformations required for the historical development of our country.

The socialist transformation of Mexico will provide a definitive solution for all the problems which affect Mexico and her people. The Communist Party of Mexico has as its final objectives the replacement of the capitalist regime, the socialist transformation of Mexico, and the building of Communism in our country, which will be the inevitable result of the historical development of Mexico and of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of the Mexican people.

The achievement of the objectives of the revolution will bring Mexico to her full economic and political liberation from the present state of dependency, with respect to North American imperialism, to the complete transformation of her agrarian structure, to the independent and progressive development of the national economy, and to the democratization of the political regime.

The moving forces of this revolution, the social forces which must carry it forward and achieve it are the working class, the peasants, the indigenous masses, the petit urban bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie.

The forms and character of struggle of the democratic revolution of national liberation will not necessarily be violent. In the last analysis, they will depend on the attitude of the reactionary and pro-imperialist classes and forces, which will be opposed to or will try to prevent the march of the Mexican people towards the enjoyment of a democratic regime and a truly free fatherland. Therefore, the path taken by the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution will not depend solely on the working class and the revolutionary, progressive, and patriotic forces of Mexico.

The Communist Party of Mexico proposes, is fighting, and will fight, using peaceful forms and means to carry that revolution forwards. It favors peaceful development because this is the form which is most suitable to the workers and to the whole people. If the enemies of the people of Mexico have recourse to violence against the masses of the people and the progressive forces, they will impose the necessity of a non-pacific solution of the tasks of the democratic revolution of national liberation. Therefore, although the revolutionary and anti-imperialist classes and forces of our country are supporters of and decided promoters of the struggle for peaceful forms and media of revolution, they need to take appropriately into account that other, non-pacific possibility.

We Communists will fight resolutely to create all the conditions indispensable for the peaceful development of the new revolution, which Mexico needs to transform the economic basis of the nation and democratize the political regime. To create those conditions, it will be indispensable to make a great effort to halt the reactionary, anti-democratic, and anti-people course which the present government is imposing on national political life. It will be necessary to raise to the maximum, mobilize, and unite all the democratic forces to defend democratic and constitutional freedoms.

In the development of their political activity, the democratic and progressive forces will be based on democratic and constitutional legality, will operate within it, and must maintain an intense struggle to defeat, with the most energetic political mass action the policy of the government, which is rendering constitutional rights null and void. The people of Mexico cannot accept the systematic conduct of a Government which is turning constitutional provisions into dead letters.

7. Since the fundamental objective of the Mexican people under present conditions in the country is to achieve national liberation, defeat the economic and political penetration and intervention of North American imperialism, the principal blow in the liberation struggle of the national, progressive, and democratic forces should be directed against North American imperialism and its domestic agents.

Mexico is a dependent country, underdeveloped, subject not only to the exploitation of North American imperialism, but also to that of other imperialisms. But since the North American imperialists are the strongest and most predominant, they therefore represent the greatest obstacle and the greatest danger for the economic development and the political independence of the country, owing to the direct and indirect control which they have in fundamental sectors of the economy, in finance, industry, and agriculture, by the monopoly which they have in Mexican foreign trade, by the total amount of direct and indirect investments.

8. The growing penetration of North American imperialism profoundly affects the interests of the working class, the peasants, the urban petit bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. In the last few years the contradiction between our people and North American imperialism and its domestic agents has sharpened, and new, nationalist manifestations and tendencies have occurred in important areas of the population.

The very growth of the Mexican bourgeoisie, which is increasing in quantity and quality, is deepening the contradictions with imperialism and is opening greater possibilities that important sectors of the national bourgeoisie not associated or connected with imperialism--and including those who, although they have been so associated, are now entering into contradiction with the North American monopolies--will march in alliance with the other patriotic forces in the common task of achieving the economic independence and the sovereignty of Mexico.

All the national forces which suffer the effects of the economic and political penetration of North American imperialism are susceptible of fighting for national liberation.

9. More favorable conditions are arising for the unification of broad forces against North American imperialism and its agents.

In spite of their potential force and the fact that they constitute the majority of the nation, the patriotic and democratic forces of the Mexican people are dispersed, they are not organized.

Under present conditions, the great tasks of assuring the independent and progressive development of Mexico, the realization of the basic transformations which the situation demands, these

cannot be achieved by any social force in isolation.

From these facts we derive the objective need to unite all the forces involved in the struggle to achieve the complete political and economic independence of Mexico. The Mexican people need unity in action and in the joint struggle of all the patriotic and democratic forces. Only that unity can lead to the triumph of the national liberation movement.

The need to unite all the anti-imperialist, progressive, and democratic forces must be expressed in the existence and development of a broad movement of a democratic front of national liberation which must be the instrument of the people of Mexico to defeat imperialism and the reactionary, domestic forces, in order to carry forward the democratic revolution of national liberation. The policy of the democratic front of national liberation can and must be expressed in various concrete forms which the forces participating, by common agreement, must prepare at suitable occasions.

The single front of the democratic and patriotic forces of the Mexican people must involve the proletariat, the peasants, the progressive intellectuals, the urban petit bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and, even, sectors of the group of landowners who at a given moment are in conflict with North American imperialism as a result of its policy of prices for agricultural export products, as a result of its monopoly of foreign commerce, or for the abuses which the North American enterprises and their domestic agents force on them (as in the case of the Anderson-Clayton Co. and other North American cotton firms). In the course of the single front movement the contradictions which arise at a given moment between landowners and big bourgeois and the North American imperialists must be taken advantage of, as must the contradictions which are presented between other foreign imperialists and the imperialists of the United States.

The broadest and most combative unity of all those forces in a powerful movement such as the democratic front of national liberation, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance as its principal force and the prominent participation of the working class and its party, will be the guarantee for the realization of the democratic and progressive changes and transformations which the country wants.

Because of their class character, the forces of the single front are, therefore, extraordinarily heterogeneous and will not be able to show the same spirit of responsibility on this front of the struggle, nor will they be able to participate with the same degree of decisiveness. The working class and the peasants, being the most interested in the deep, revolutionary transformations, will have the greatest participation therein

and will do so with more decision and firmness. On the other hand, the petit bourgeoisie and the sectors of the national bourgeoisie not associated with imperialism will participate in a vacillating and irresponsible way. Therefore, while the forces which participate in the single front will be broader, and while the working class and its party will apply a just, clear, and firm policy, the prospects and the efficacy of the single front to defeat imperialism and the domestic reactionary forces will be greater.

The movement and the policy of the democratic, national liberation front must be conceived of as a great alliance of all the forces ready for the anti-imperialist struggle. In the heart of this alliance there must exist another, stronger and more decisive: that of the working class and the peasants, under the leadership of the former. To play this role the working class requires first of all to achieve its unity of combat and to achieve its full class independence. In this way the democratic front of national liberation, basing itself firmly on the worker-peasant alliance, will be able to attain its objectives if it marches under the political direction of the working class through its party, the Communist Party.

The single front of the democratic and patriotic forces will acquire distinct, varied, and flexible forms; it should manifest itself in multiple concrete forms of operation or of organization in common, which will arise from initiative from different sources and in accordance with the needs of the situation or of certain point in the struggle. It must be thought of, in consequence, as a march.

The democratic front of national liberation will manifest itself in the union of all the forces and elements which agree on the defense of national independence, on the struggle for democratic freedoms and the raising of the living level of the people, and should take concrete form in multiple common actions: public declarations, meetings, struggle committees for the solution of this or that problem, manifestations, congresses or conventions, local or national movements, campaigns revolving around certain objectives, etc.

10. Because of the heterogeneous nature of the forces and the contradictory interests of the classes which will participate in the single front, the working class and its party have the obligation of knowing how to apply the most just policy, foreseeing and avoiding sectarian and rightist opportunistic deviations in the single front. They must know how to apply a just and correct policy of alliances and of unity to maintain and develop the single front, at the same time as they develop revolutionary tactics which fit in with the interests of the class of the proletariat.

It is a sectarian deviation in the single front to limit and narrow the opportunities for participation of broad social forces, to restrict joint action in the anti-imperialist and democratic movement, without understanding that the policy of imperialism deeply affects the most diverse classes and social layers, which opens up a broad perspective for their possible participation in the national liberation struggle.

The single front cannot be limited only to the forces which hold positions more or less similar to those of the proletariat or the revolutionary movement in general, nor solely to the sectors characteristic of the democratic and leftist camp in Mexico. It must be much broader and with a greater perspective, if it is understood that it must include the urban petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, as well as certain sectors of the landowners in conflict with North American imperialism, if it is understood that the common objective which should make possible and which should unite the single front is independent and progressive national development as against North American imperialism. An effort is being made to unite in action around the common objective of the struggle for the economic and political independence of Mexico, involving all the social forces and elements of the country which, still having profound and radical contradictions in other respects, agree on this fundamental point or, even, on certain phases of the movement, are united only in the struggle for limited, partial objectives or concrete problems which in one way or another contribute to striking a blow against the penetration and policy of North American imperialism against Mexico.

It is necessary to take duly into account that the most diverse forces must take part in the struggle of the single front and that their participation must not be conditioned on all of their showing the same sense of responsibility or firmness, an identical anti-imperialist clearness and a similar understanding or agreement on the need for the single, anti-imperialist front. It is not a matter of conditioning participation in the single front on the acceptance of the points of view or the program of the most responsible and firmest forces, nor of imposing their concepts.

Even under the present conditions in our country, when a part of the national bourgeoisie is adopting a conciliatory position with regard to the Yankee monopolies and has close links with the landowners, a reason for which it shows an inclination to compromise with imperialism and fear of the revolutionary attitude of the working class and the working masses, one must avoid and fight against the sectarian error of underestimating the revolutionary possibilities of the national bourgeoisie. That is, the possibility of its being



incorporated in the struggle against North American imperialism and for the democratization of the country.

11. The objective situation in Mexico, the deepening of the economic and political penetration of imperialism, the profound changes which are occurring in the international situation in the favor of the cause of socialism and of democracy, and the general rise of the anti-imperialist struggle in all the countries still oppressed by imperialism, will create greater possibilities for the incorporation in the struggle for national liberation of the sectors of the national bourgeoisie interested in the independent development of the national economy.

The indispensable condition for developing these possibilities must be that the working class and its party fight to the maximum extent for the interests and progressive claims of the national bourgeoisie and of the urban petit bourgeoisie and place the greatest effort in the struggle for the national claims of these classes and social layers as a part of its anti-imperialist and democratic program, in order to win them for the single front and the leadership of the working class. The revolutionary workers movement and its party must lead and direct the struggle, with the greatest efforts and initiative, for the demands of the intellectuals, writers, artists, professional people, technicians, students, salaried employees, artisans, etc.

12. In the struggle for the single front and in its development, the conflicting interests between the classes and social layers which must act together will be apparent, and it is inevitable that they will try to impose their interests and concepts. From this circumstance is derived the need to prevent and fight decisively against opportunist, rightist deviations which may present themselves in the relations with the national bourgeoisie and which in the past have caused such damage to the workers movement, when the proletariat and its party have not applied responsible, revolutionary tactics.

The opportunist deviation of the right appears in the following:

a) When the Communist Party does not fight for hegemony in the single front, that is, when it turns over leadership of the revolutionary movement to the bourgeois or petit bourgeois forces, losing sight of the fact that without the leadership of the proletariat, the democratic revolution of national liberation will not be able to succeed and still less to be transformed into a socialist revolution.

b) When the revolutionary possibilities of the bourgeoisie are underestimated, that is, when due consideration is not given to the tendency of the national bourgeoisie towards compromise

with imperialism and the landowners and not enough attention is given to the need to fight against their vacillations in the single front. To avoid this deviation, it is necessary that the Party of the proletariat maintain the position of unity and fight simultaneously. That is, in the moments of vacillation or of capitulation on the part of the national bourgeoisie and the forces which are related to it, the Party must maintain a position of criticism and of struggle.

c) When the specific interests of the working class are sacrificed in the altars of the alliance with the national bourgeoisie. The single front does not presuppose the disappearance of the class struggle, which, in fact, is inevitable under the capitalist regime. Therefore, the task of the Party consists in safeguarding the interests of the working class in any alliance which may be arranged.

d) When the Communist Party does not fight to maintain the ideological, political, and organizational independence of the working class in the single front and does not combat the influence of bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideas on the working masses. The Party must work to develop the class conscientiousness of the proletariat, on the basis of its own ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

The revolutionary tactics of the proletariat consist in uniting all the national forces including the national bourgeoisie, around democratic and anti-imperialist objectives, but without setting aside its own interests as the exploited class, which fights for better living conditions and for socialism, because the contradiction existing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will not end even when the working class does not seek, at this stage, to resolve this contradiction in a radical way.

13. In the single front and in the struggle for the democratic revolution of national liberation, not only will the class struggle not "disappear," but it will become necessary to develop more fully the class struggle of the proletariat, the peasants, and the urban middle layers to defend their specific interests and the national interests of the country.

14. It pertains to the working class of our country to play the decisive role and to establish itself in the directing force and to serve as the vanguard of the single front of the democratic and patriotic forces, to defeat the oppression of North American imperialism and the domestic, reactionary forces.

Only the working class, led by its political party in the vanguard, the Communist Party, will be able to accomplish the great task of forging and developing the broadest democratic movement of national liberation. It is the only social class capable of bringing together under its leadership the anti-

imperialist, democratic, and progressive forces; its leadership is historically the only one which is in a position to give the single front both firmness and political responsibility. It is the most advanced class, the most revolutionary in present Mexican society, by the rôle which it plays in production, by its growing, numerical development, by its organization, combativeness, and discipline which it has in the working class, by its sacrifice in the struggle. The working class has been the first to rise up in the struggle against imperialist oppression: in Cananea, in 1906; in 1938, leading the great, patriotic, and anti-imperialist mobilization of the Mexican people to liberate the national petroleum industry from foreign domination.

The Mexican working class has greater interest than any other class in the democratic and independent development of the country and in the achievement of national independence, because democratization, national independence, and peace will permit it to realize a radical improvement of its living conditions and achieve a regime in which its democratic and trade union rights will be respected.

In order to ensure that the national liberation movement will have a revolutionary and advanced orientation, the proletariat will play the part appropriate to it and all vacillating and conciliatory positions in the single front will be resisted. The key will lie in the combative and vanguard action of an ideologically strong Communist Party, solidly united, and politically rooted in the masses.

To achieve the objective of leading the struggle for national liberation to a victorious conclusion, it is indispensable that the working class achieve, in fact, hegemony in the workings of the democratic movement of national liberation. But under present conditions in the Mexican workers movement, it is necessary for that purpose to wage to the maximum the struggle for ideological and organic independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie and from governmental control, to achieve the unity of the Mexican proletariat, to raise its class conscientiousness, to achieve the class independence of the trade union movement and to free it from the control of the PRI, to make the trade unions, not instruments of the bourgeoisie and of the government, but rather instruments of unity for the workers of all ideological and political tendencies, in the struggle for their immediate claims, and in the democratic movement of anti-imperialist national liberation.

15. In the alliance between the workers and peasants the democratic front of national liberation must be the principal point. The worker-peasant alliance is the principal force, around which it will be possible to achieve the broadest unity of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces. In the struggle

for the claims of the peasants, for agrarian reform, for the destruction of large-scale landholding, for the independence of the peasant movement from the influence and control of the bourgeoisie and the government, the working class and its party, giving help, solidarity and orientation to its brothers in the countryside in their struggles and in their organizational activity, will be able to forge the worker-peasant alliance.

The peasants are the natural allies of the working class. And it is a decisive task to work seriously for the worker-peasant alliance. Without that alliance the working class will not be able to play the leading role and achieve the triumph of the democratic revolution, since the principal forces of that revolution are precisely the workers and the peasants.

16. In accordance with the strategic objectives of the struggle of the working class, of the revolutionary movement, and of the Communist Party of Mexico, which are set out for the present stage and which are derived from the historical, economic, and social development of our country, the tactics of the Communist Party of Mexico must consist of the struggle to promote and achieve all those partial or limited changes which will lead to the immediate general objective of the achievement of profound, democratic transformations in the economic structure and in the political regime of the nation.

In setting out as the immediate objective of the struggle of the working class and of the Mexican people the realization of radical and decisive changes in the economic structure of the country, in the State, and in the political structure, the Communist Party points out that this does not mean that such radical changes have to be realized tomorrow.

The realization of this new revolution will be achieved through a whole process of intense and responsible mass struggle and through the creation of the conditions which will make the completion of these tasks possible and will attain the fundamental objectives of the democratic revolution of national liberation.

The Communist Party of Mexico will advocate the realization of partial changes which contribute to its general objective and will be prepared to support every measure which contributes to limit the power of the North American monopolies and their domestic agents and will join its efforts to all those democratic forces, political groupings, bodies, layers of the population, and elements which fight for this same objective.

We consider in particular that these partial changes and the slogans which are used to achieve them must tend towards the objective of isolating the disloyal, anti-national, and conciliatory sectors, which wish to come to terms with imperialism, which, from the seat of government, apply a reactionary

policy. This must be done until we achieve changes in the composition of the government, in favor of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

These partial changes can only be achieved on the basis of great mass efforts.

Insofar as the anti-imperialist struggle realizes the development and obtains the popular support which it needs, and in the very process of this development, the Communist Party of Mexico considers that the working class, the working masses and the masses of the people, the democratic and patriotic forces, must press forward to the maximum the struggle to impose a positive change in the reactionary, anti-democratic, and anti-people course, which the present government of the country is impressing on its policy. This can be done by mobilization, decisive action, and the pressure of the masses. Through the broadest mobilization and organization of the masses of the people and the joint action of all the democratic forces ready to work in common for the same objectives, it is necessary to force the bourgeoisie to step back in the application of the policy which it is following at the head of the country, and to make concessions to the movement of the people.

It is necessary to work for the defeat of the governmental policy which opens the doors still further to North American monopolist capital; increases the penetration and control of the North American imperialists in our country; strengthens the dependency of Mexico, with respect to the United States; attacks the rights of the workers' movement and violently attacks the claims of the workers; restricts even further the weak, bourgeois democracy of Mexico and maintains in fact a state of suspension of individual rights guaranteed in the Constitution itself; directs its hate against the revolutionary leaders of the independent workers movement and against the Communists, against whom it mounts monstrous legal actions which are the epitome of arbitrariness and illegality; and hangs over the country the threat of installation of a police-military dictatorship hidden behind a false democratic and constitutional costume.

The struggle for the defeat of the policy followed by the present government requires the energetic denunciation of all its reactionary and anti-people measures and plans, the organization and mobilization of the mass struggle around their economic claims and political demands, rejecting the reactionary measures of the government and demanding respect for the interests and rights of the workers and Mexican citizens in general. It also requires the greatest understanding concerning the fact that any possibility of defeat of the policy of the government and any partial or limited change achieved will be the product of the

mobilization, the efforts, and the pressure of the masses, independently of the government, everything depending on confidence in the very forces of the people and combating illusions in the governing bourgeoisie. The governing bourgeoisie will always be prepared not only to suppress the workers' and the people's struggle through open and direct repression, but also by deceiving and making empty promises, through submission to governmental control and subordination to the government.

As these struggles for partial and limited changes are achieved and broadened, as the democratic forces fight for concrete solutions to the daily problems of the masses and of the country, it will be possible to go on accumulating strength to counteract the effects of a reactionary and anti-people policy from which the masses are suffering and to change the character of the government and its policy in a democratic and progressive sense. It will also serve to move forward on the road to achieving the radical changes which are necessary to transform the situation of the people and of the country.

17. The promotion and the development of the struggle of the single front of the democratic, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces of our country require the formulation of a minimum program of common demands, which will make possible the establishment of the single front and the joint struggle of all the forces interested in the economic and political independence of the nation, in the defense and broadening of democratic freedoms and in the elevation of the living conditions of the people.

In the opinion of the Communist Party of Mexico, the basic points of a platform which will unify in action the greatest possible number of democratic and progressive forces should be the following:

1. DEFENSE AND INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. Nationalization of the fundamental branches of the national economy in the hands of foreign imperialism. Promulgation of a law on foreign investments which will truly protect national interests and which will put an end to the growing invasion of foreign capital. Commercial interchange with all countries, including those of the socialist camp. Ending of the policy of imperialist loans which mortgage the country and damage national sovereignty. Financing or foreign credits, governmental or not, should be used, provided they contribute to the independent economic development of the nation, preferring those which, without any strings and without discrimination as to their sources, offer the best conditions at low interest rates, payments over a period of time, and technical assistance.

Application of effective measures of control over banks to guarantee the true channeling of bank resources to the promotion of industrial and agricultural production and economic development in general, at low interest rates. Promotion and stimulation of small and medium-size production, authorizing the necessary credits for its development and the greatest facilities for artisans and small and medium-size producers. Modification of the tax system of the country so that fiscal charges will bear principally on the dividends of the foreign enterprises, the big bankers, big industrialists, and monopolists of business, speculators, etc.

2. COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF LARGE-SCALE LANDHOLDING AND EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM. Total liquidation of large-scale landholdings and semifeudal survivals in the countryside. Immediate expropriation of the lands of large-scale holdings, whether camouflaged or not, and delivery of the land, free of charge, through the communal system, to the peasants who do not have land or who have it in only a small quantity. Immediate resolution of all the cases of land inheritance and restitution of existing lands and water rights in the Department of Agrarian Affairs. Nullification of the reactionary amendments made to Article 27 of the Constitution and the Agrarian Code, in order to nullify the law of protection for the landholders, to reduce the maximum extension of the so-called "smallholdings" and to nullify the certificates of agrarian and livestock exemption from the Reform, which cover extensive, large-scale holdings. Donation and restitution of land to the Indian communities. Respect and stimulus for the true, small agricultural landowners. Revision of the systems of credit for tillers of communal lands and other farmers, on the part of the government banks, to put an end to the abuses, corruption, and obstacles of which they are victims, and the delivery of effectively timely credit, adequate and low-cost, which will cover the whole communal land system and the smallholders. Measures to prosecute and punish the compradors and usurers, principally foreigners, who traffic criminally in the products of the communal and small and medium farmers. Fixing of remunerative, guaranteed prices for agricultural products.

3. REESTABLISHMENT AND BROADENING OF DEMOCRATIC, CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOMS. Effective respect and application of constitutional rights and guarantees. Suspension of all repressive measures and persecution for political reasons which, in fact, keep constitutional rights suspended. Derogation of Article 145 of the Penal Code which establishes the so-called "crime of social dissolution." Freedom for all the political prisoners in the country. Respect and effective compliance with the right to strike, the right of the workers to belong

to any party and to choose their trade union representatives freely, against State intervention and control in the internal life of the trade unions. Reform of the electoral law, in order to guarantee respect for the vote, eliminate obstacles to the organization and existence of political parties, and establish proportional representation in both Chambers of the Congress of the Union, in the legislatures of the States, in the Municipal governments, in all organs of popular representation.

4. RADICAL ELEVATION OF THE LIVING LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE. General increase in salaries, wages, and pensions in the whole country. Energetic and real efforts against scarcity and inflation. Substantial increase in minimum wages and establishment of a minimum, living wage. Effective control over the prices of articles of primary necessity and ending the policy of systematic increases in the rates of public services. Improvement of Social Security and extension of the same to all workers in the city and in the country-side, exempting them from the payment of contributions, as well as laborers and unemployed white-collar workers. Issuance of a National Rental Law, which will protect the interests of renters.

5. INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE. Active position and decided support for all measures in favor of the definitive and of the "cold war," for general disarmament, total prohibition of experimental nuclear explosions and for the prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. For a peace pact between the great powers, against the policy of aggressive pacts and military blocs. Friendly and peaceful relations with all countries, without discrimination based on differences in social organization, and based on mutual respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality of rights, and mutual benefits. Resolute support of the struggle of other peoples for their national liberation and in particular those which the peoples of Latin America are waging.

The Communist Party of Mexico formulates these basic points of a minimum platform of all the democratic and patriotic forces of the country, and proposes discussion of this platform in order to establish the common objectives of all these forces and the preparation of a platform which will make possible the development of a vast and broad single front movement for national liberation and the democratization of the country.

In their daily political activity the Communists must fight for these claims of the people of Mexico.

18. With the immediate general objectives in mind, which should guide the political activity of the Communist Party of Mexico, the daily policy of the Party, in particular, should be oriented towards and be concentrated on the organization of



the struggle of the people and of the masses, with the greatest degree of broadness and the firmest, united character, in defense of the Constitution and democratic freedoms. It should be oriented towards the re-establishment of the constitutional rights, now, in fact, suspended by the regime of Lopez Mateos, against the anti-democratic and reactionary offensive of the present government. It should be for the denunciation and unmasking before the masses of the truly anti-people character and the objectives of the governmental campaign of repression as a part of a whole policy of McCarthy-type persecution which serves the interests of North American imperialism, is an expression of the interference of the United States in the internal life of Mexico, and the result of political agreements with the governing circles of the United States, which are profoundly damaging to the national interests of the whole Mexican people.

#### V. The New International Situation and the Tasks of the Mexican People

1. The Mexican people are confronted with grave problems which affect them at a transcendental, historical moment, signified by the occurrence of changes of profound importance in favor of the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism. It widens the perspective of the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle of the people of Mexico.

The dominant characteristic of the international situation is the great rise of the countries of the socialist camp--and at their head the Soviet Union, with its colossal economic, scientific, and technical successes--the decline of imperialist and colonial domination over the largest part of the Earth, the growing strengthening of the struggle and the alertness of the people against war and imperialist subjugation.

The world is living in the epoch of the decline of international capitalism, of the dismembering of the colonial system of imperialism in the whole world, the construction of socialism in the Chinese Republic and in the peoples' democracies in Europe and Asia, and the construction of Communist society along the whole front in the Soviet Union.

The fundamental content of our epoch is the passing of capitalism to socialism, begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Socialism has passed beyond the borders of a single country and have been converted into a powerful and flourishing world system, which exercises enormous influence in the development of the struggle of all peoples for social progress and national liberation.

The struggle of the working class in the capitalist world is strengthening, growing, and obtaining great victories, converting itself into a decisive force in the international situation, in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, for democracy, and for socialism, under the leadership of its Communist and workers' parties, which are strengthening themselves in a series of countries, on the basis of the proper application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to specific national conditions. The unity of the international Communist movement has been even further consolidated in the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against all revisionist efforts and tendencies.

2. The holding of the XXI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been an international political event of extraordinary importance. Its decisions, and above all the approval of the gigantic seven-year plan for the development of the economy of the USSR, are exercising and will exercise a profound influence on the international situation and constitute a new, historic triumph of Marxism-Leninism. The seven-year Plan and the march towards its certain fulfillment will gain millions of new supporters for socialism, will lead to the strengthening of the forces of peace and the weakening of the forces of war, are causing and will cause enormous changes, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the entire world.

The XXI Congress announced to the whole world that the Soviet Union is entering a new, historic period of its development: the period of the construction of Communist society along the whole front, the beginning of the great era of Communism in the USSR. Thus, it represents one of the great mileposts in the history of humanity and the struggle of the working class.

The XXI Congress made known to all peoples the great program of the general construction of Communism, of which the seven-year Plan is its most important part, setting out grandiose plans of peaceful construction and expressing the will of the Soviet people to do everything necessary--as the trip of N. S. Khrushchev to the U. S. and the various peace proposals made by the Soviet Union prove--to safeguard peace and ensure peaceful co-existence of the countries with different social systems.

The seven-year Plan presupposes an advance so impetuous, broad, and many-sided as has never been known in any epoch in the history of any nation. It constitutes a stimulus for the workers and inter-national Communist movement and for all the democratic forces in their struggle against reaction and

imperialism. It initiates a new period of revolutionary rise in the whole world.

The happy completion of the seven-year Plan will contribute decisively to resolve the principal of our times: the elimination of the danger of a new world war.

The realization of the seven-year Plan will enormously increase the economic potential of the USSR. Adding up the economic successes and the powerful development of the other socialist countries, it will create a decisive superiority in the correlation of forces in the world, in favor of socialism. It will be a great stimulus for the development of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America, now on the rise.

3. While the camp of socialism is increasing its power and is developing in an uncontrollable form, the process of decomposition and weakening of imperialism is accelerating. The general crisis of capitalism is becoming even more aggravated, as a consequence of the impetuous rise of the forces of socialism and the victories of the movement of national liberation, of the crumbling of the colonial system, and the sharpening of the internal social contradictions in each capitalist country, as well as the contradictions between the imperialist powers themselves.

Only about 30 years ago the colonial system of imperialism covered the greatest part of the world. Now the colonial, dependent, and semi-independent countries which suffer under the iron hand of imperialism occupy half of the territory which they covered before the second world war, and the population subjected to colonial subjugation has decreased by almost ten times during the same period. The period of colonialism has passed, and the day is near when the oppressed peoples will completely wipe off the face of the earth the residue of colonialism.

North American imperialism, leading center of world reaction, has sought and is seeking a way out of its difficult situation through the policy of aggression against the national sovereignty of other peoples, of the armament race and the "cold war", of preparation for a third world war. But the "positions of strength" and "brink of war" policy is suffering defeat in the world and is confronted with the growing opposition of its own people, the North American people.

Imperialism is incapable of resolving the growing process of its economic instability. It is encountering decline after decline with the character of a crisis and the inevitable perspective of new commotions as a result of the accumulation of the unsolvable contradictions of the capitalist system. The arms race and all the measures to which the imperialists

have recourse, cannot suppress the causes of the crisis.

4. The primary task of the peoples is the struggle for peace. The realization of this great task today finds new conditions to be victoriously achieved. The peoples are ready not to permit the outbreak of war. The movement of peace partisans is developing and diversifying its forms of expression and of operation.

Supported by the power of the camp of socialism, the peaceloving peoples can force the aggressive circles of imperialism to desist from their plans of unleashing new wars. In this way, even before the total victory of socialism on Earth, with capitalism surviving in a part of the world, there will be a real possibility of excluding war from the life of society, of eliminating wars as a means of solving international conflicts.

That does not now exclude the danger of war, which cannot be underestimated at any time. The possibility cannot be disregarded that imperialism will unleash a war that would be the tomb of world capitalism. Because the principal cause of the present danger of war is the aggressive path of North American imperialism, by the pretensions of the Yankee monopolies to world domination and their willingness to see in the road to war the temporary alleviation of their grave problems, and by eliminating the panic and terror they feel at the growth of the forces of socialism, of peace, and of national liberation in the whole world. Therefore, vigilance, keeping alert, the need to increase the popular struggle against the forces of war--these cannot be diminished in any way. On the contrary, it is necessary to intensify, raise, and broaden the struggle for peace, more even as the prospects for the development of the struggle of the peace partisans are increasing.

The responsible policy of defense of peace, alleviation of international tension, and of peaceful co-existence, put in practice continuously by the Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist camp are bearing concrete fruit / Sic!--TN/ in the eyes of the entire world.

A clear demonstration of the new possibilities which are opening for the victorious struggle for peace is the visit of N. S. Khrushchev, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the U. S. This was a very great contribution to the alleviation of international tensions, and the results of the eminent services to world peace contributed by N. S. Khrushchev during this visit are plainly visible. The peoples of the whole world have greeted the visit with enormous enthusiasm. It constitutes a great victory for the Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence and a triumph for the policy

of peace of all the socialist countries in their constant struggle to eliminate international tension. In the whole world decided support was voiced for the Soviet proposals to diminish international tension, achieve total general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear arms, and the peaceful settlement of the problems of Germany and the other world problems awaiting settlement.

It is great duty of our people and a task which cannot be put off, on the part of all forces ready to defend the peaceful interests of the Mexican people, to promote a broad movement of Mexican partisans of peace. We Communists cannot neglect any effort to contribute decisively to this task and to the broadest unity of all Mexicans ready to give their support to the great cause of the maintenance of peace.

5. Latin America not only is not an exception to the process of great changes in the international situation, characterized by advances and victories of the peoples who are struggling against imperialism, for national liberation, for democracy and peace.

The Latin American peoples are vigorously joining the great movement of the colonial and dependent peoples of the whole world, in order to put an end to imperialist exploitation and its policy of war and plunder. Yankee imperialism, the common enemy of all the peoples of Latin America, is incapable of halting this struggle and preventing our peoples from rising up against imperialist exploitation, against the tyrannical governments, imposed and supported by the U. S., and subject to the policy line of Washington.

The battle in Latin America for the claims of the masses of the people, for democratic freedoms, for the overthrow of the dictatorships, against Yankee imperialism and its agents, is reaching new and high levels, obtaining victories of great significance in which the role played by the working class, the Communist parties, and their policy of broad, firm, and flexible unity of democratic and anti-imperialist action, is a fundamental one. The growth of the national consciousness of the Latin American peoples, the development and strengthening of the working class, the increase in the revolutionary spirit among the masses of the peasants, the students, the professional workers, and the patriotic intellectuals, the sharpening of the contradictions between the irreconcilable interests of the Latin American peoples and their exploiters, the North American capitalists, the growth of discontent and the refusal of the national bourgeoisie not associated with the Yankee monopolies to conform--all of these lead to a greater increase in national resistance to the policy of the United States.

As a result of the growth and elevation of the struggle for democracy and national liberation of the Latin American peoples, stimulated by the great advances of socialism and the forces of peace in the world, the policy of the United States is meeting with new and great difficulties, it is suffering misfortunes and defeats. As the anti-imperialist struggle grows in Latin America, the victories already achieved are defended and maintained. The common solidarity in our countries is increasing, and the relief of international tension is being accentuated. Yankee imperialism and its domestic agents are meeting with serious defeats in executing their plans for military intervention.

The policy of the United States is entering into an increasingly sharp contradiction with the desires for independence, democratic progress, and economic well-being, on the part of the Latin American peoples.

Our peoples are acquiring a greater awareness that only through the struggle and fight for national liberation and democracy, through a firmer and more tenacious struggle in defense of national sovereignty and independence, facing up to Yankee imperialism and deciding to defeat its policy of exploitation, of looting and domestic reaction, will they make North American imperialism and the anti-national forces retreat.

This anti-imperialist consciousness is powerfully stimulated by the exemplary struggles of the Cuban, Venezuelan, Brazilian, Argentine, Chilean, and other peoples.

The triumph of the Venezuelan people against the pro-Yankee dictatorship of Perez Jimenez gave added push to the anti-imperialist struggle in all of Latin America.

With the victory of the Cuban Revolution, North American imperialism suffered its greatest defeat in recent times in the Western Hemisphere, as much because the Cuban people defeated a government supported by the Yankees, imposed and maintained by all means, as by the character of this revolution, which is evident in its definite anti-imperialist, democratic objectives and its social progress, which constitute an encouraging example for all the Latin American peoples. Precisely because of that the North American imperialists are trying at any cost to halt the advance of the Cuban Revolution, to halt it and defeat it.

The brother nations of Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and Paraguay are fighting heroically against imperialism and its domestic agents, personified in the brutal dictatorships which oppress them. In Argentina the working class and the people are waging a firm struggle against the reactionary and pro-imperialist policy of Frondizi. In Brazil, Colombia, Peru, and other Latin American countries, anti-imperialist and democratic mobilization and unity is increasing.

6. All these great struggles of the Latin American peoples constitute an integral part of the world battle against imperialism, for democracy, and for peace. Therefore, to reinforce it and broaden it is a common task of all the patriotic elements, of all the national and progressive forces which support the achievement of the independence and national liberation of their fatherland.

The great actions of Cuba, Venezuela, Argentina, and other countries contribute to raise the action of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in each Latin American nation. Supporting them resolutely and with the broadest popular mobilization is an unavoidable duty of the working class and of all the democratic forces of our country.

All the peoples of Latin America face a common enemy, who has agents in each country to carry out docilely his plans of domination and exploitation and which disposes of economic and repressive means to try to defeat the peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to fight in unison against this common enemy, to organize unity of action against Yankee imperialism and its domestic agents, for the defense of the natural resources of our fatherlands, for the achievement of economic and political independence, for the termination of imperialist exploitation of our peoples, for the defense of democratic liberties and the rights of citizens which today North American imperialism tramples on, through its national lackeys and all of those to whom it dictates the policy of repression against the revolutionary movement.

7. To achieve effective unity of action, the peoples of Latin America, and among them the people of Mexico, will have to use the most varied forms which permit coordination and the customary help between them, mutual help. These forms can range from actions of solidarity in each country to the celebration of days and continent-wide manifestations in defense of the interests of the Latin American peoples, in defense of peace, against war and imperialism, general campaigns for certain concrete objectives, movements of solidarity against repression and for the liberty of the political prisoners, etc.

The working class and the people of Mexico have in this fight duties of solidarity of the first magnitude towards the other brother peoples of Latin America. Above all, to intensify and elevate their fight for complete economic and political independence with respect to North American imperialism. Each success in the struggle of the Latin American people against imperialism and the reactionary domestic forces is a great contribution to the movement of national liberation of the other peoples.

## VI Tasks to Improve the Present State of the Party

1. The historic tasks which the working class has to perform at the present stage can only be resolved if it has at its disposal the fundamental instrument of its action: its own political party, capable of leading it in the daily struggle with dexterity and of grouping around it the broadest masses of workers and the people.

Without the existence of this Party, strong because of its ideology, because of its dexterous policy and because of its close connections with the masses, the working class is condemned to serve as an appendix of the bourgeoisie, and as a stepping stone for the elevation of all kinds of groups and currents foreign to its class.

This party is the Marxist-Leninist party, the new type party, which is based on the unity of theoretical, programmatic, and organizational principles.

The Communist Party of Mexico is the party of the working class. But in order that it might play its part and put its objectives into practice, it needs to acquire new combative qualities which would bring it to the completion of its tasks. The struggle to develop the Communist Party of Mexico, to correct its errors, for the formulation of its correct political line, is the struggle to make the indispensable instrument of the working class effective for the achievement of its historic objectives.

The essential weakness of the revolutionary movement of Mexico continues to be the lack of a strong, combative Communist Party, closely linked to the masses, capable of orienting and leading the working class and the working masses in the revolutionary struggle.

2. Our Party is 40 years old. Its creation in 1919 was the result of the growth of the class consciousness of the Mexican workers. It was a step of great importance in the history of the workers movement in our country. Since then the Communist Party of Mexico has been the only Party which has raised the standard of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, of the struggle for socialism and Communism in Mexico. Many of its best men, sincere and abnegating revolutionaries like J. Guadalupe Rodriguez, Julio Antonio Mella, Primo Tapia, Francisco J. Moreno, Benjamin Jimenez, Luis Morales, Roman Guerra Montemayor, and many others, have fallen in the struggle for the defense of the interests of the workers and peasant masses.

The Mexican bourgeoisie has always tried, by various methods, to smash the Communist Party of Mexico, to dissolve it or to detour it from the objectives of its struggle. But the Communist Party of Mexico has been maintained in spite of all.



The bourgeoisie and imperialism are unable to destroy it because it is an historic necessity, derived from the existence of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class of contemporary society.

3. After existing for 40 years the Communist Party of Mexico is beginning a new stage in its activities. This stage is joined to the new rise of the struggle of the working class and the working masses in our country, to the new wave of the anti-imperialist struggle on the American Continent. On the basis of collecting the experience of its immediate past, the Party proposes to correct its errors, overcome its present weaknesses, and take the necessary steps to turn itself into a party of the masses.

By using the tested method of Leninist self-criticism, and Party demonstrates that it is not afraid of exposing its errors before the masses, for this is the best proof of its readiness to correct them. There are those who will take advantage of Party self-criticism to denigrate it and to fight against it, but they will fail now, as they have failed in the past.

4. The Mexican bourgeoisie has always fought and in redoubled form since it came to power in 1917 to plade the workers and peasants movement under its control, and to prevent the ideological development of the Mexican proletariat. It has governed on the basis of a great demagogy, which for a long time deceived and still deceives large groups of workers. This fact could not help but influence the action of the Communist Party of Mexico at times in the adoption of sectarian positions, because of a failure to see anything other than the demagogic and reactionary side of the Mexican bourgeoisie. At other times, it has adopted rightist opportunist positions because it did not know how to distinguish the demagogic phraseology of the bourgeois politicians from their deeds. But throughout its history our Party has maintained the characteristics of a proletarian party, the only one which the Mexican working class has had.

Our Party committed grave errors, which provoked a prolonged crisis within it in the period from 1937 to 1948. Previously, our Party had also committed errors. Nevertheless, it was able to reach 1937 with great influence among the masses, with important authority, with a relatively strong organization.

5. In the period from 1937 to 1948 our Party fell into an opportunist deviation of the right, as a consequence of which its influence on the masses was considerably weakened. Our Party over-estimated the revolutionary possibilities of the bourgeoisie, let itself be attracted by it, and did not know how to maintain class independence. On the other hand, the Party did not see the reactionary process which was working in

important sectors of the bourgeoisie and continued considering it as a whole as a progressive class. This led it to fail to characterize correctly the governments of Avila Camacho and of Aleman, principally.

These facts, and the predominance of incorrect methods in the conduct of its internal life, provoked desertions from the Party and its organic weakening. As a result of this process of splintering the Mexican Workers-Peasants Party was created in 1950.

6. During the whole period of the Party crisis incorrect methods of conduct of the problems of its internal life have predominated in its leadership. Differences have not been resolved through discussions and the strict attitude of principles. The cult of the personality has developed, with its negative consequences. Criticism and self-criticism were suppressed, and initiative at the base of the Party was not stimulated.

For this situation a serious responsibility lies with the present leadership of the Party, which was not equal to the exigencies of the period, did not correct errors in time, and adopted a formal and superficial attitude towards self-criticism.

8. The internal struggle which developed in the Party after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was essentially a struggle for the correction of the vices rooted in the leadership, to convert the Party into the true fighting vanguard of the working class, to root out some opportunist positions of the right in the trade union movement and in the policy of the Party, to resolve in a definitive way the prolonged crisis in which it has lived during the last 20 years.

The fact that it has committed errors in this fight and that isolated opinions of a revisionist character have appeared, which have been rejected by the rank and file of the Party does not change the general, positive character of this internal struggle.

9. The Marxist-Leninist training of our Party is a process of re-education of its cadres and militants, of rectification of the methods of thought and study, of the style of work, basing ourselves on the method and the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is contrary to subjectivism, to improvisation, and to a narrow practicality. It also includes the re-establishment of the fighting traditions of the Party and the training of the rank and file and the cadres in the experiences and the revolutionary spirit of the past struggle of the Party and of the Mexican working class, in the experience of the international Communist movement. This process must go on, closely linked to the practice of mass struggle to the daily political activity of the Party at the head of the working class.

This same circumstance presents us with the immediate need to work for the formation and consolidation of a Marxist-Leninist nucleus in the leadership of the Party, to improve its composition, bringing the best workers into it, so that it will be able to face up to the unavoidable task of developing a great Communist party in our country.

10. The decisions of the Plenum of July-August of the Central Committee constitute an important base for the improvement of the present state of the Party and will play a role of primary importance in the achievement of the unity of the Party, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

11. The unity of the Communist Party of Mexico and of the Workers-Peasant Party is one of the most important steps for the strengthening and development of the Communist vanguard of the Mexican proletariat. By forming parts of a single party, our common efforts will bear greater fruit and will bring greater returns for our work. The unity of our two Marxist-Leninist Parties will put an end to a difficult stage in the Mexican Communist movement, in which confusion and disunity reigned. In this way we will be in a position to bring into a unified Party many comrades who left the Party at different times, but who maintain revolutionary positions in the workers and peasants movement.

12. The Communist Party of Mexico bases its action on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, tested by all the practice of the international Communist movement. Under present conditions in our Party, it is necessary to point out the following elements and principles as the basis of its practical action:

a) Dialectical materialism, the theoretical base of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that our Party has not fully grasped dialectical materialism has made it, at various stages of its history, fall into revisionist and dogmatic errors, into subjectivism and unilateral positions.

As is stated in the "Declaration of the Conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties of the socialist countries," "If a Marxist political party does not start from dialectics and materialism, in examining any question, this will carry it into unilateral positions and into subjectivism, into the calcification of thought, into divorcing itself from practice, into the loss of the capacity properly to analyze things and phenomena, into revisionist or dogmatic errors, and into mistakes in policy." (Documents of the Conferences of the Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow, Mexico, 1957, p. 17).

b) The class struggle. Many of the errors committed by our Party, principally those of a rightist, opportunist character, derive from the fact that the positions of the various bourgeois

groups and parties have not been seen as a reflection of the class struggle inherent in every kind of exploitative society. The mission of the Party does not consist in mitigating or halting the class struggle but rather in sharpening and extending it.

c) Proletarian internationalism. As a part of the international workers movement, even when it is only a small part, our Party must march shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Parties of the whole world. Imperialist reaction and the bourgeois nationalists try to break up the cohesion and unity of the international Communist movement, proclaiming the so-called "national Communism" and the "independence" of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, understood in the nationalist style. In the true sense our Party is an independent party. It is responsible by itself for its political line and for its practical action. But our Party considers that fraternal, mutual aid and proper relations among all the Communist Parties are a necessity in the class struggle in the international field. In particular, our Party considers that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the most experienced party, which has carried out three revolutions and which is building Communism in one-sixth of the world, has gained for itself the title of the vanguard detachment of the Communist and international workers movement.

d) The prospects of Socialism. The fact that our Party at present is promoting national liberation and the democratization of the political regime, does not mean that we should not urge taking the socialist view, as the only solution to the problems of the working class. It is necessary to emphasize this, because in the past the propaganda of our Party has been weakened by socialism. The objective of the working class is socialism, and it is necessary to present this perspective, to spread it, to make it penetrate in the broadest layers of the working class.

e) Party links with the masses, as a basis of its strength, as the indispensable condition for its development.

f) The single front of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, without which it will not be possible to defeat the oppression of the foreign monopolies and their domestic agents. The basis of the single front must be the worker-peasant alliance.

g) The vanguard role of the Party, which will be achieved as the result of the daily action of all Communists, in defense of the interests of all classes and layers affected by imperialist oppression and the exploitation of capitalism.

h) Democratic-centralism, as the guiding principle of the organization of the Party.

The proper observance of democratic-centralism in all activity will preserve the Party from multiple errors and deviations in the solution of its internal problems, in the preparation of its strategy and tactics, in the leadership of the masses.

In the "Conditions of entry into the Communist International," Lenin points out that: "The parties....must be organized on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. In the present period of exacerbated civil war, the Communist Party will only be allowed to do its duty if it is organized in the most centralized way, if an iron discipline rules within it, similar to military discipline, and if the central part of the Party is an authorized, prestigious organism, and with full powers, which enjoys the general confidence of the members of the Party." (V. I. Lenin, Against Revisionism, Moscow, 1959, p. 633.)

Democratic centralism combines in a dialectical form centralism in the leadership, with broad democracy in the masses of the Party, iron discipline, with the creative initiative of all militants, the right of each Communist to examine freely all questions presented by the Party, with the obligation to apply the resolutions of the various organisms strictly. As Lenin says, democratic centralism means freedom to criticize, if by that unity there is no violation of the unity of determined action, and it means the inadmissibility of any criticism which prejudices or makes difficult unity on a course of action determined by the Party. (A. Nicolaev, In Defense of the Spirit of the Party, Russian edition, Moscow, 1958, p. 3).

The fundamental elements of democratic centralism, as the experience of all the Communist Parties shows, are the following: the elective character of all leadership organs of the Party; the supreme leadership organ is the National Congress, and the local Congresses on the local scale; the leadership organs have the obligation to make an accounting of their stewardship before the respective Party organizations; the leadership organs must constantly pay heed to the opinions of the lower organizations and the mass of Party members, must study their experience and resolve their problems at an opportune time; collective character of the leadership; the decisions of the Party must be unconditionally applied by all militants; the Party member must submit himself to his organization, the minority to the majority, the lower to the higher organizations, all Party organizations to the National Congress and the Central Committee.

i) Criticism and self-criticism, as the fundamental method for the correction of the errors of the Party and to make up for its deficiencies.

13. The essential task of the Communists, the task, on which depends the success of the others, consists at present in fighting with abnegation for the organic and political development of the Party, for its Marxist-Leninist consolidation, to convert it into a great mass party. To march along this road, we must comply with the following minimum conditions:

a) Ensure Marxist-Leninist unity in the rank and file of the Party. The proper solution of differences, the observance of the Party spirit by all Communists, active work in the leadership organs, and the unhesitating application of all norms of organization, together with the preparation of the proper political line of the Party, constitute the basis of this unity.

b) Connect the Party with the masses. All the work of the Party organizations must be oriented to the organization of the masses, to the participation of all Communists in the preparation and development of the struggle of the working class, the peasants, and the democratic sectors of the country. Only through the energetic activity of the masses will the Party gain its position as the vanguard and will it strengthen its internal unity.

c) The study of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to national conditions. The mastery of Marxist-Leninist science by the Party will raise all of the daily work to a higher level, will facilitate the struggle against non-Marxist tendencies in the working movement and will preserve the party from errors and deviations.

d) Struggle for correct leadership, to improve all the work of the Party in the cells. The internal struggle has demonstrated that we must not again fall into the errors and deviations which have been criticized by the July-August Plenum of the Central Committee, such as violations of Democratic Centralism, the suppression of criticism and self-criticism, the method of order and command, such as one-man leadership. This demands that we strengthen ourselves by giving a new meaning, in accordance with the Leninist principles on the life of the Party, to the work of leadership. In this way our task will consist in establishing at all levels of the Party the principle of collective leadership, which is an essential, integral part of the principle of Democratic Centralism. The essence of this principle consists in developing the activity and the initiative of the masses of the Party, on the basis that these are what make history. This demands collective discussion of all problems by the Party organs, combined with responsibility in work: the opportunity for criticism and self-criticism to develop among the rank and file;

correct relationships between the upper and lower organs; use of the method of persuasion; regular holding of meetings, in order to analyze at a suitable time the most important problems; rendering of reports on the work performed.

In order to apply the Party line in fact, to raise its combat spirit, and ensure its linkage with the masses, it is indispensable that we support all our activity in the cells. Without their correct functioning, the activity of the Party cannot be successful. Therefore, it is of great importance to raise the level of militancy of all Communists through energetic activity by which each member of the Party, from the highest leaders to the rank and file militant observes the Leninist principle of participation in a cell.

The duties of the Party, which require its decided participation in the struggle of the working class and the people, to give them a revolutionary orientation and leadership, establish the imperious need to build the Party in the factories and in all work centers, especially in fundamental industry. The struggle for the formation of cells, made up of the best elements of the working class and the people, is one of the primary tasks of our Party.

Favorable conditions exist to carry out a great recruiting campaign for new members. We must include in the Party many workers and peasants who have sympathy for it, but who are not motivated to enter. It is necessary to attract numerous workers who left the Party for various reasons, but who continue to hold revolutionary positions.

6) Apply a correct cadre policy. Under the present conditions of Party development, the problem of cadres acquires great importance. Without a goodly number of cadres with firm Marxist-Leninist training, our Party will not be able to solve the problems which its transformation into the vanguard of the working class and the people entail. In the course of performing this great task, two essential questions arise: 1) Re-educate the present cadres and raise their Marxist-Leninist level of training; 2) Form new leadership cadres.

Both the re-education of old cadres as well as the training of new ones requires the performance of intensified ideological work, so that they will assimilate the essence of the errors and deviations committed by the Party during its history, as well as work aimed at achieving their preparation in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In our policy of development of new cadres, we must observe the following conditions: 1) Their fidelity to the Party and the working class; and 2) Their possibilities for development.

On the other hand, with the purpose of correcting one of the deficiencies which characterize the majority of the Party

cadres, it is necessary to wage a battle to link them intimately with the masses of the Party and those not members of any party.

f) Ensure the regular publication of the central organ of the Party, the "Voice of Mexico" [Voz de Mexico] and to improve its contents. The newspaper must be the principal instrument of the Party to carry its line to the masses, to explain and develop its strategy and tactics, to educate the Party and the masses. It is necessary to raise the ideological content of the newspaper, correcting present defects. The whole Party must fight to supply the newspaper with the necessary economic means to ensure its regular publication, by contributing to its preparation and by spreading it among the workers.

14. In the struggle to convert the Communist Party of Mexico into a great Marxist-Leninist Party, it is necessary to wage ideological combat against all tendencies foreign to Marxism-Leninism within the working movement. Without this fight for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, for the predominance of revolutionary tactics and the organizational principles of Leninism, the Communist Party of Mexico will not be able to gather around it the best of the working class and train it.

In the international field the offensive of revisionism has failed. All the Communist Parties remained united and rejected the efforts of the leaders of the Union of Yugoslav Communists and the revisionists of their own countries from diverting them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Nevertheless, revisionism continues to be the basic danger which confronts the Communist Parties at the present time.

For the particulars of the development of our own Party, it is necessary, without disregarding the struggle against the revisionist positions, to develop the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism, which have predominated, in recent years, in the work of our Party.

A useful teaching of the international Communist movement says that the abandonment of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism or the neglect of their assimilation and application, will inevitably lead to the deformation of the class character of the Communist Party, as well as the ignoring and the disregarding of the concrete features of our own country, inevitably leading the Party into sectarian and dogmatic impotence.

15. Within our Party a liquidating tendency has arisen in the most recent period of its activity, which coincides, in some respects, with the position of the so-called "Workers' Front." Based on the present weakness of the Party, on certain errors committed during its history, and on the fact that at present



it is not playing its role as vanguard of the working class, some comrades are raising the theme of the "historical non-existence" of the Communist Party of Mexico, and others have deserted it, calling on its members to abandon it.

This current is the reflection, within our Party, of international revisionism and of the diversionist positions of some groups, principally those of the "Workers' Front."

The defense of these positions is incompatible with militancy within the Communist Party of Mexico, for, as Lenin said, "of itself, it is understood that the Party cannot exist, having within it those who do not recognize its existence." (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works in two vols., Vol I, Moscow, 1948, p. 767).

16. The struggle for the Marxist-Leninist development of our Party requires the intensification of ideological work within the Party and among the masses. Experience shows that many of the errors and deviations into which we have fallen in the past have as their basis, among other factors, the insufficient ideological preparation of the Party militants and leaders, in the narrowly practical approach with which the work of leadership has been impregnated, in the lack of application of the general theses of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation of our country. Neglect with regard to ideological questions is intolerable among the leadership organs of the Party and among the cadres.

17. In the Mexican workers movement there are currents and tendencies which are trying to divert the Party from its revolutionary character and which, for a long period of time, have predominated among broad layers of the working class.

The Mexican trade union movement is directed, for the most part, by leaders foreign to the working class, who serve the bourgeoisie and in some cases, North American imperialism. The Party must carry on an implacable fight against reformism in the trade union movement, against the so-called "paternalism" of the bourgeoisie, and for the ideological, political, and organizational independence of the workers movement, with regard to the bourgeoisie.

The struggle for the ideological independence of the working class, for its political and organizational independence with respect to the bourgeoisie, is one of the most important tasks which our Party must perform.

The Party must not permit the repetition of the errors of the past in this aspect of its activity.

The proper trade union tactics of the Party have great importance in this respect. The Party is presented with the complex task of creating unity of action of the workers, working for the organic unity of the trade union movement, and at the same time developing the struggle for the cleansing of the trade

union movement, for the democratization of the trade unions, to remove those from the influence which the bourgeoisie exercises through leaders at its service, who betray the interests of the working class.

Based on the general attitude of principle of our Party with regard to reformism and the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working movement, it is necessary to carry on an implacable struggle to unmask them, to isolate them from the masses, and eliminate them from the posts of trade union leadership.

On the other hand, it is necessary to organize the struggle of the working class in the defense of its economic interests, giving priority to the struggle for a general increase in salaries. Around this struggle and to make it effective, the Communists must act with the greatest initiative and flexibility, on the basis of uniting in action all currents and tendencies prepared to participate in it. Our Party conceives of unity of action, fundamentally as unity of the rank and file, among the workers. But it is necessary to know how to take advantage of all possibilities to include in it officers who are prepared or obligated by circumstances to defend these or those claims of the workers. It is necessary to root out both sectarianism as well as opportunism in the attitude adopted towards the majority of the leaders of the trade union movement. 18. Our Party must redouble its efforts in the countryside. The realization of the agrarian demands of the Party and the achievement of the worker-peasant alliance, the base of support of the single, democratic, anti-imperialist front, will only be achieved by a great Party effort among the peasant masses and by the entry of large groups of peasants into the Party itself.

The development of capitalism in the Mexican countryside urgently demands a change in the activity of the Party in the countryside. A great agricultural proletariat has been created, which receives the worst salaries, and which lacks the most elemental rights of organization. The work of the Party must be centered precisely on this sector of the working class. Until now, our Party has concentrated most of its work on communal farmers and on those in the most developed zones of agriculture. But it has ignored work among the agricultural daily workers and among the peasants in the most backward areas, particularly among the landless peasants. This is a deviation of our work in the countryside. Without neglecting the areas where we now have influence, the work of the Communists must be concentrated principally on the daily-paid workers and the landless peasants. These constitute the most revolutionary force in the Mexican countryside.

In particular, it is urgent to develop a special effort to organize daily-paid agricultural workers into a union and organize the struggle for their specifically proletarian demands, as well as to develop the struggle to deliver land to all the peasants who do not have it.

19. The development of a strong Young Communist organization is one of the most important tasks which our Party must perform. It has been demonstrated that youth has a role of great importance to play in the struggle for national liberation and for socialism. Through its own youth organization, our Party can better influence the great masses of worker and peasant youth, winning the youth for the objectives of its struggle.

But, until now, owing principally to lack of attention on the part of the Party, Communist Youth has remained a weak, rickety organization, which has not succeeded in penetrating the broad sectors of Mexican youth, particularly among the young workers, on the basis of undertaking a struggle for its specific demands. Finding the proper methods for work among youth, the organic forms appropriate to its character, is an immediate obligation, for on this depends, in great part, the development of Communist Youth.

Communist Youth will be able to play its role as an auxiliary of the Party, if it directs its action towards the study of Marxism-Leninism, towards the organization of young workers and peasants, if it turns itself into a fighting organization which knows how to direct the enthusiasm and heroism pertaining to youth towards the high objectives of the working class and its Party.

20. An important aspect of the mass activity of the Party is that which concerns work among the women. Our Party should make great efforts to bring large numbers of women into its ranks, particularly working and peasant women.

In Mexico there is no great women's movement at present. Small organizations and groups of women are active, but a great, democratic organization of Mexican women has not yet been formed. Under these conditions, it is for our Party to work within these organizations to give them a democratic character. In the struggle for peace, for the rights of women, for the elevation of the living level of the people, democratic women's organizations can do great things.

The fundamental task of the Party on this front must consist in working for the creation of a great mass women's organization, which will include women of various tendencies and opinions, united under the principles of the International Democratic Federation of Women.

To achieve this objective our Party must pay special attention to the strengthening of the Democratic Union of Mexican

Women, an organization which can play an important role in the creation of the great, united, mass women's organization, of which we spoke previously. All Communist women must work in this organization and try to achieve a united effort, setting aside sectarianism and all kinds of errors which have placed obstacles in the way of participation of large masses of women unaffiliated with any party in it.

21. The great achievements of Communism in the whole world, the increase in the prestige of the Soviet Union and of the countries which are building socialism among the masses of the people of our country, as well as the growing spirit of struggle of the masses of workers and peasants and the masses of the people, are favorable signs for the growth and development of a strong Communist Party in our country.

The internal process which is operating in our Party, the decision rapidly to eliminate the errors and deficiencies of the past, constitute a guarantee that in a short period of time our Party will be turned into a strong, mass party, rooted among the workers, capable of leading the working class, the peasants, and all democratic forces to the victory of the new revolution which Mexico needs.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

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CLOSING ADDRESS OF SECRETARY GENERAL NOVELLA  
TO FIFTH CONGRESS OF CGIL

In a strongly worded speech Comrade Honorable Novella closed the debate at the Fifth National Congress of the CGIL.

The congress has accomplished its fundamental task-- Novella quickly affirmed--: to define the general lines of the confederal labor union policy and its immediate practical execution. The discussion was positive from the standpoint of its level, quality of problems met, and analysis presented.

The discussion was therefore highminded and specific, in which the problems of general orientation had a great part: this feature has a positive aspect, Novella affirmed, because international relation, the new aspects offered by the development of capitalism, the great fighting spirit of the working masses are all factors which concurred in determining the need of this congress to go beyond light retouches on the lines formulated in earlier national congresses, and to draft a completely new line adapted to the new situation.

It was therefore necessary to make new analyses and new considered choices regarding the objectives and the work methods and struggle. "Well--Novella said forcibly amid great applause-- we have made those choices; and we have presented a line which was not copied from anyone else, but studied and discussed by the labor union organization as such, with the full knowledge that it was the workers themselves who determined it in very large measure, with the united struggles of the past months, and the favorable changes in the new situation."

There was one danger: that is, that we might have fallen into academic talk and forgotten the urgency of action. But the danger was avoided. In fact, one of the main merits of this congress was precisely that of having kept in mind the great variety of situations, their dynamics, and the substantial unity of demanding movements.

It is because of these characteristics that great importance was attached during the debate to the problems of the cabinet. The position of the CGIL was clear: it is not just a matter of a cabinet crisis, but of something more serious, and that is, of a crisis which has struck at the entire managing class by placing it face to face with serious problems. In substance, there has been a serious ceding before the general offensive of the managing groups which aim not only at rejecting the demand of workers, but also to question important democratic victories in the places of work and in national society.

"We will do everything--Novella said amid great applause-- to make a temporary solution impossible, and to resolve the country's problems instead. And we hope to be able to say tomorrow that the Tambroni Cabinet has fallen."

At this point Novella faced the main subject of his explanation: the necessity for the workers to unite and to oppose the offensive by the monopolies and above all, the content which unity and autonomy of labor union organizations must assume.

On the basis of the movement which has arisen in the country--Novella said--the CGIL made several proposals to other labor union organizations. Well, whereas the UIL has kept silent, the CISL answered by proclaiming a coalition with the CGIL to be impossible. And for what reasons? Many of these reasons were the subject of discussion in the congress: it is well--Novella said--to pause over one, and that is the one according to which a permanent unity of action would be incompatible with the positions of the CGIL toward the irreconcilability between the progress of democracy and a revolutionary development of capitalism.

The CGIL has already clearly said that its positions are the same as those of the Republican Constitution: why is unity therefore impossible?

But we must also say one thing: that is, there is on some problems like the one mentioned no common view even inside the CGIL, among its various wings, which, as you know, range from Communist to Socialist, to Social Christian, to Mazzinian, to Social Democratic. And yet this does not imply laceration. This is the pit of the problem.

And here Novella, after having explained his personal conviction that this irreconcilability absolutely does not exist, affirmed that the problem today does not consist in discussing ideology among labor unions and in labor unions. The real problem for the entire national and international labor union movement is that capitalism today, through its monopoly concentration, attacks the world of labor along the entire front in order to enforce its power, which is total.

The immediate task today is to face with all our forces the struggle for the renewal of society to give greater weight to the working classes and to renew the function of labor unions.

The offensive by management endangers democracy in its various articulations; and we have seen it in this cabinet crisis in which the Confindustria did not hesitate to hurl itself against such propositions as those of regionalism, government industry and so on, inspired precisely by those "advanced" monopolistic groups who do not reject a center-left formula, and then crush every ray of liberty and democracy in places of work.

A platonic "no" is not enough against MSI votes: we must say "no" to the entire economic right wing, including that which nests inside Christian Democracy.

We must--continued Comrade Novella--eliminate discrimination and carry out that ever more decisive labor union unity of action, the need for which places labor unions in Italy before serious problems of renewal.

The very fact that the CGIL does not wish to create divisions on themes regarding ideology made it choose a number of unpostponable objectives, which with the development of the situation in the country are no longer limited to salary problems; objectives, which with the development of the situation in the country are no longer limited to salary problems; objectives which constitute the first knots to be loosened before improving the general living conditions and democracy:

1. A general increase in pay, both as regards contract minimums and as regards forms of pay which serve to fill the difference between salaries and the growing output of labor;
2. An advance along the road of agrarian reform, with greater public investments, overcoming the sharecropper relationship, permanent jobs for laborers, a policy of support for small companies, introduction of labor union check on power organizations such as the trusts and reform agencies;
3. Heavy investment in government industry to emphasize its anti-monopolistic character and to hasten the development of depressed areas.

These are the first knots which must be loosened; and which because of their nature are part of the international situation, actively and specifically sustaining the development of all those tendencies which push toward international relaxation, the advent of peaceful competition in every field of endeavor, the elimination of any and all discrimination, and for total disarmament and for the complete liberation of all energy oppressed by the cold war.

This is an action which must overcome the present labor union differences, to inaugurate cooperative relationships, proceeding in a coherent unity of action toward the objective of permanent unity, and lastly, an organic unity, among the labor unions.

The CISL has made labor union autonomy an indispensable condition. The CGIL has proposed a direct debate on its very problems and guarantees inherent in it. But the CISL did not reply.

At this point, the CGIL does not hesitate to say that it won its autonomy by direct interpretation of worker's aspirations.

In this one also finds its rewelded unity, unsuccessfully attacked from outside, which found its greatest support in having elaborated a labor union policy by approaching the daily life of the workers, their needs, and the facts of national existence, rather than on the basis of plans handed down from above.

Evidently, in this work there have been natural meeting grounds: with the parties of the working class, with the CISL, the ACLI, and the UIL. "Indeed, Novella said,--amid the thunderous applause of the assembly--we have accepted these common grounds as a positive fact, and we shall work toward the achievement of others in the future."

The position of worker's demands in the CGIL is thoroughly articulated, inasmuch as it takes into account certain structural differences of the country; it is profoundly united, inasmuch as it has in itself the capacity to unite the broadest strata struck by the monopolies.

"Our function in the redress of the labor world--Novella concluded--is essential: our solemn commitment is to work for unity and progress, making our CGIL ever more the powerful labor union organization of the workers."

During the afternoon session, Comrade Anita Di Vittorio gave her heartfelt greeting to the congress, which applauded at length the memory of the great former leader Giuseppe Di Vittorio.

Great enthusiasm was provoked among the delegates to the congress by the speech of Diallo Seydou, secretary-general of the General Union of Black African workers, who emphasized the value of the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Following Novella's speech, Anselmo Lanza, speaking on behalf of the Certification Commission (Commissione Verifica dei poteri) announced the validity of the Fifth Congress of the CGIL, in which 1, 516 delegates participated, representing 92.4% of the 3,468,952 Italian workers enrolled in the CGIL.

The congress then approved the new by-laws of the Confederation unanimously.

Comrade Di Gioia reported on the changes made in the earlier by-laws. The new by-laws were voted upon in toto, except for the first article which solemnly states that "the CGIL rests its program and its action on the Constitution of the Italian Republic and pursues its integral enforcement, particularly as regards the rights proclaimed in it and the economic and social reforms promised in it." Also unanimously approved were the closing motion of the Fifth Congress, an agenda on administrative problems and an agenda for the quick establishment of the Friuli-Julian Venice Region.



The congress approved by acclamation on its feet a resolution of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, a resolution of solidarity with Algerian patriots, and a motion for disarmament and the positive results of a meeting at the summit, in which motion the next May Day is proclaimed as a day of struggle for peace.

After a short adjournment, the congress met in secret session to elect the CGIL organs of leadership.

In the morning the speeches were opened by Comrade Salvatore Ghirra, secretary of the Cagliari Chamber of Labor, who had illustrated the success of the struggles conducted by workers in Sardinia. After the speech by Emilio Massi, secretary of the Ancona Chamber of Labor, on the situation in the Marches, Comrade Ernesto Matteucci, chief of the accounting office for the CGIL, reported on the financial condition of the united labor union organization.

The problems of court workers were discussed by Comrade Giovanni Bruzzone, secretary-general of the FILP CGIL, who recalled the recent defeat of the factionists.

After a speech by worker Ines Maloni of the Montecatni Jute Factory in La Spezia, Comrade Gheorghe Palos brought greetings to the congress from the Rumanian labor unions, and Mario Nanni brought those of the CGL of San Marino.

The secretary of the Chamber of Labor in Trapani, Franco Mogliacci, spoke on the situation in that city; and on the problems of craftsmen competing against the monopolies, Senator Oreste Germini, president of the General Confederation of Handcraft, spoke.

There followed the greetings of Sulman Nassan Hakid of the Iraqi Union of Labor Unions, Djallo.

The last to speak were Romolo Liberale of the Avezzano Chamber of Labor, who spoke on the problems of the Fucino, Michele Strazzella of the Matera Chamber of Labor, who portrayed the dramatic conditions in the Basilicata Region, Andrea Margheri of the CGIL Youth Commission, who underlined the need for a constant work of clarification among youth and of the conquest by labor in technology and scientific research, and finally, worker Maria Monte, who dwelt on the working conditions of Italian immigrants to Switzerland.

#### THE NEW CGIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following is the new Executive Committee list:

1. Agostino Novella
2. Fernando Santi
3. Gianni Alasia (secretary, Turin Chamber of Labor)
4. Vincenzo Anzanelli (FIALZIAT secretary)

5. Guido Antonizzi (secretary of the automobile, railroad, and streetcar drivers)
6. Guido Biondi (secretary, Florence Chamber of Labor)
7. Piero Boni (FIOM secretary)
8. Giovanni Brambilla (responsible secretary, Milan Chamber of Labor)
9. Elio Capodaglio (responsible secretary FILLEA)
10. Giuseppe Caleffi (responsible secretary Federbraccianti)
11. Fulvio Carofolini (secretary Genoa Chamber of Labor)
12. Vasco Cesari (president FIDAE)
13. Renzo Ciardini (responsible secretary FILM)
14. BRUNO DI POL (secretary Milan Chamber of Labor)
15. Renato Degli Esposti (responsible secretary FSI)
16. Angelo Di Gioia (responsible secretary FILCP)
17. Riccardo Fabri (responsible secretary post, telegraph and telephone workers)
18. Sergio Fabro (secretary Venice Chamber of Labor)
19. Carlo Fermariello (responsible secretary Naples Chamber of Labor)
20. Lina Fibbi (responsible secretary FIOT)
21. Vittorio Foa
22. Arvedo Forni (assistant secretary FILLEA)
23. Doro Francesconi (responsible secretary Federmezzadri)
24. Sergio Garavini (responsible secretary Turin Chamber of labor)
25. Sergio Giulianati (assistant secretary FIOT)
26. Giuseppe Golinelli (responsible secretary Venice Chamber of Labor)
27. Gino Guerra (vice secretary general Federmezzadri)
28. Luciano Lama (responsible secretary FIOT)
29. Pio La Torre
30. Silvano Levrero (Labor union officer CGIL)
31. Antonio Lombardi (secretary Naples Chamber of Labor)
32. Otello Magnani (assistant secretary Federbraccianti)
33. Manfredo Marconi
34. Ugo Minichini (regional secretary Sicily)
35. Fernando Montagnani
36. Luigi Nicosia (CGIL organization office)
37. Vasco Palazzeschi (responsible secretary Florence Chamber of Labor)
38. Bruno Pigna (responsible secretary Genoa Chamber of Labor)
39. Luciano Romagnoli
40. Federico Rossi
41. Armando Roveri (CGIL social security office)

42. Rinaldo Scheda
43. Marcello Sighinolfi (CGIL organization office)
44. Sandro Stimilli (CGIL labor union office)
45. Bruno Trentin (responsible for CGIL economic office)
46. Giuseppe Venturoli (responsible secretary Bologna Chamber of Labor)
47. Silvano Verzelli (secretary FILCP)

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OPENING ADDRESS OF SECRETARY GENERAL NOVELLA  
TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE CGIL

The report by the Secretary General of the CGIL, Agostino Novella, began with an examination of the international situation marked by relaxation of tension and by the appearance of new prospects of economic and social development. However, this is not a matter of a process with a one-sided and linear meaning, not only because of the active presence of forces rooted in a cold war policy but also for the tendency of capitalist groups "to inject themselves into international relaxation with the specific purpose of taking for their exclusive class interest the economic benefits which derive from new international relations. These tendencies lead to a worsening of the conditions of the masses and to a sharpening of social conflicts." In western Europe the increased competition caused by the European common market and the EFTA emphasizes this process still more, with particular seriousness in the agricultural field.

To face the managerial offensive, which is the task of labor union organizations in the capitalist countries, we must commit ourselves with drive in the struggle against increased exploitation and the exclusion of the workers from the benefits of progress, technology and increased productivity, becoming more and more the champions of economic development in our countries. It is based on these considerations that the CGIL maintains the necessary cooperation among all the labor unions of the capitalist countries concerned, among other things, to arrive at the abolition of national salary differences, with a line of improvement for all countries.

In this spirit the CGIL has proposed the control by the labor unions over the national and international agencies of transfer and placement of manpower and over the special funds of the European Common Market and of the European Coal and Steel Community.

After having recalled the initiatives of labor unions belonging to the World Federation of Trade Unions in the sphere of the European Common Market and mentioned the greater understanding for the need of workers to unite on the part of many occupational categories and by some national headquarters of the international CISL and by Christian Labor Unions, Novella indicated the immediate basis for coordinating among the European Common Market Labor unions in the objectives of salary increases, tutelage and negotiation of employment levels, and the protection of immigrants.

Speaking of the prospects for international economic organizations he then affirmed that the process of relaxation can lead to a reunification of the world market and that in this new dimension European countries must seek without discrimination the new possible foundations of international cooperation.

"The CGIL--Novella said, closing the part dedicated to foreign policy--has committed itself and will commit itself in the struggle for peace and disarmament, unconditionally supporting in every possible way the labor unions of any affiliation which are now engaged in a struggle for independence. The time has come when the workers of capitalist Europe must bring to bear their inarrestible united pressure on capitalist governments and groups."

The analysis which the Secretary-General of the CGIL then made of the economic and social situation in our country was extremely sharp. It appears as a situational phase "which has generally overcome the effects of the economic depression of 1959".

"This judgement--Novella said--is expressed by us with the knowledge of having had a leading role as the labor union organization in productive recovery and in the recovery of employment levels.

"At the origin of the situational recovery--Novella said, answering the statements by the president of the Confindustria--Lie, as the institutes of economic study and the reports presented by the Italian government to the OEEC realize, two main factors which have constituted the two main objectives of the struggle pursued by the CGIL in the face of the economic depression: the increase of remuneration for the working classes and the increase of investments in public works and those of corporations in which the government has a share".

#### REMUNERATION AND PRODUCTIVITY

In a situation which appears favorable on the whole the contradictions and traditional economic twists of Italian society have become worse. The problem of the South has become more acute, the variance between agriculture and industry has widened to the point where in less than five years fully 800,000 workers have abandoned the rural areas, the unbalances of industrial development have become heavier with the flow of investments increasingly directed toward the large corporations. The contradictory nature of the situation is noticeable in a more general profile of expansion which is recorded in some regions whereas in others it is beginning to go toward economic recession.

"In our eyes--Novella said--there appear two Italies, one of which increasingly feels the limits and precariousness of an economic development which in some cases has reached remarkable goals precisely because of the backwardness and stagnation of the other".

In 1960 Italy is the only country in capitalist Europe in which about 8% of the active population is permanently unemployed. This situation, which is summed up in the figure of 1,858,000 officially unemployed reported by the Ministry of Labor in 1959, not affected by the large flow of immigrants, forces the workers to pay a particularly high price in struggle and sacrifice to improve their living conditions even a little and to defend their rights and their liberty".

After having recalled that Italian salaries are among the lowest in Europe and underlined the inequities among the salaries in various fields and various corporations, Novella affirmed that "the participation of workers in the great benefits which can derive on the economic, social and cultural level from the development of technical progress, it then appears greatly obstructed by the present economic structures and by the unbridled power which it allows to management. The impressive increase of work output and of productivity (23% in the last four years in the manufacturing industry) is matched by a very slow rise in salaries (about 8% in real purchasing power); and the increase in national income is matched by a decrease in the real income of labor.

"A modern labor union like ours--Novella concluded on this point--feels the duty of acting with all its forces to upset this situation".

The unbearable nature of these relations begins to appear clear not only to the CISL and the ACLI but also to broad sections of the Christian Democratic Party. This rethinking is the new fact in the Italian labor union situation and accompanies the increasingly live reaction among the intermediate occupational classes of industry and agriculture against monopolistic power and its consequences on the economic level. These movements do not always succeed in identifying their real adversary, but they do represent the index of a laceration in progress on the management front. This laceration can be the point of departure to develop a great united action which will isolate big capital and which will allow a decisive economic and social change in our country.

Novella recalled the commitment of the CGIL in this respect and the demands made sometime ago so that this turn of events may come about: Agrarian and contractual reform, nationalization of the sources of power, development and reorganization of government industry, execution of a program of

industrialization and growth of employment, first in the south and economically underdeveloped regions in central and northern Italy, achievement of a social security plan with reform of the entire welfare benefits system.

Within the framework of these demands the CGIL has always made a request for higher salaries and a modern contract. The movement for demands in 1958 and 1959 achieved several successes by making the salary containment line retreat, forcing the Segni Cabinet to offer the law for the recognition erga omnes of contracts and by forcing changes, even if partial, in the most negative attitudes of the IRI directors.

The struggle for demands by the workers and their labor unions succeeded in questioning the dominant leaning of Italian economic policy and as a result the very coalition of classes on which the recent cabinet make-ups rested. The present cabinet crisis, like that of the Fanfani Cabinet, has its roots in these conditions caused by the workers movements.

Novella recalled the origin of the Segni Cabinet, supported by the forces of conservatism and intent on offsetting the people's pressure through maneuvers. The real results of his policy, however, were to increase the awareness of large strata of workers that only a complete change of the structures and the development of democratic institutions could satisfy the new uncontrollable aspirations. The pronouncement by the annual assembly of the Confindustria brought to light how the very fate of democracy in all its forms is at stake today: from the sovereignty of the Parliament to labor union liberties.

#### THE CGIL AND THE NEW CABINET

Having remembered the platform of the CGIL, Novella added that it is on this basis that a judgement may be expressed about Honorable Tambroni, while "we must not fail to manifest at a meeting like that of the CGIL Congress our preoccupation in the face of the method and events which have characterized the appointment of the new cabinet. The fact that it appears from this very time as the fruit of an explicit renouncement to seek positive cooperation on the most serious problems of Italian economic and political life leads us to believe that it is once more intended to face the problems which the country considers unpostponable by a consolidation of power which the major private groups hold in the national economy".

With respect to the various positions regarding the crisis taken by the labor union organizations, which were at first unified by a similar judgement, Novella said that the great lesson learned from the crisis itself is the need to create labor union unity which the country requires and which must obtain from

Parliament legislation in consonance with the aspirations of workers and the country.

This implies giving up the separate contracting which is being relaunched by management, as it was in the exciting situation of 1955 to 1957, substantially to block salaries and weaken the contractual power of the labor unions.

Novella then illustrated labor union tasks in the face of the new problems posed by economic necessity for the working classes. In particular the CGIL must know the policy of monopolies in its every phase. Monopolies are not "skyscrapers in the desert" connected to a host of medium and small activities; it was continued to creep into agriculture and the services, attaining predominant positions in the decisive spheres of the national economy. From this we have the increasing importance of new centers of power which tend to exercise in fact a directing function vis-a-vis the non-monopolistic entrepreneurs and on the direction of public expenditure, reaching the point where they affected the prerogatives of constitutional democratic institutions. The modern labor union must become fully aware of the existence and weight of these new counterparts of the working classes and directly invest them with a demanding action.

These new centers of power are the provincial agrarian companies, the reclamation companies, the mountain companies, the organizations dominated by the major farm producers, the companies in the industrial areas, the chambers of commerce, and the centers of occupational training controlled by management. Capitalistic growth poses new problems of demands and strikes at the roots of the contractual power of the labor unions. In this phase there is special importance for the labor union in the ever increasing weight of the mass of workers, of tertiary activity, of commerce and especially that of the white-collar workers connected with industrial production. For these impressive strata of subordinate workers, the determination of pay levels and especially that part of their pay which is connected to "merit" and to output, the money they receive and their advancement in position usually occur outside the standards of their contract. Here is, Novella said, the challenge to the contractual power of the labor unions which we will accept in the common interest of workers and clerks in Italian industry.

Novella then came to the main part of his report: The fundamental objectives of demanding action by a united labor union.

#### THE OBJECTIVES OF LABOR UNION ACTION

"In the next few months--he said--we are called to initiate a second great phase of labor union redress, which strikes



at all the old and new problems of the Italian working classes with a specific and articulated demanding action."

This action will get underway with the struggle for salary, for the safeguarding and reevaluation of occupational qualifications, and for the improvement of welfare benefits; however, the commitment of the CGIL will consist in directly striking at management's power and the centers of decision for economic policy.

There are essentially three types of demands toward which we must move.

First of all there is the request for increased pay--a permanent and general worker's demand--which must now be pursued above all through raises tied to the growing output of labor.

In this connection, it is not only a matter of extending and making reoperative the traditional forms of incentive, but also of guaranteeing permanent raises which are tied to increased productivity deriving from technical progress.

Experience teaches that this objective is attainable with the formula known as "output bonus;" in other words, by raising the salary in proportion to the variations in the relationship between total production and hours of labor employed; and it teaches us that for farm workers paid with a share of the produce, it can be specified in an increased share.

A second basic demand is the one referring to safeguarding the qualification required today by an accurate contracting of the worker's occupational level, which gives value to his abilities, either those required for the job to which he is assigned, or those issuing from study and courses attended or followed during his career; this contracting affects all occupational classes, but it is really at the core of the problems connected to clerical employees.

This commitment naturally involves a thorough reinforcement of contractual power: the autonomous activity of the labor union must unfold in this very point.

A third demand--which is particularly important in a period of technological progress--is that of reducing the working hours and paying all workers the same, both with respect to the aggravated burden of labor and with respect to the more general requirements of guaranteeing a growing share of leisure time.

"The CGIL--Novella emphasized--is fully aware that the development of this entire gamut of struggles commits it completely, through a permanent connection with demands for controlling the organizations: but it is, of course, the undeniable task of a modern labor union to solve the problem of contracting for unit organizations by sections, by departments, by corporations, and by complexes."

A recurrent theme in demanding action may be found in the request for absolute parity. In this respect, it is necessary to iterate that parity does not at all mean leveling salaries and keeping the highest ones frozen. It is instead indispensable that the movement for demands be general and permanent, both on the highest pay levels and on the most backward ones.

These labor union actions will constitute a powerful drive for the material and moral advance of the workers, and for the economic and civil development of the country. In fact, we must reaffirm that the CGIL, as Novella emphasized, considers its fundamental victory to be that of having given as the general prospect of struggle the unity of demanding action with that for economic growth, so that within this framework of organicity and of contemporary nature, the demands which affect the economic and social structures of the country become one of the first and fundamental objectives of labor union struggles.

In this framework there is also a requirement of knowing how to organize around the workers the other classes who have been hit in their interests and aspirations by the policy of monopolies.

For example, this prospect includes the struggles of laborers for salaries, contracts, taxable earnings and for new trends in public investment, which reveal the backwash obstructing their attainment, and which therefore give priority to the need for land reform so that the soil can be given to those who work it.

It is the farm workers who, together with the building trades workers, should have the task of making adequate demands in the centers of economic leadership for agriculture, such as the reclamation trusts, agrarian trusts, reform agencies, and so on, forcing them to make choices other than those wanted by the agrarians and the monopolists.

Finally, the struggle in government industry is always organized along this line, where it is necessary to select objectives and forms of struggle suited to the need of making it a permanent tool of action against monopolies, and to win new social and labor union relations which constitute the efficient basis to force productive leanings to answer the general interests of the country.

Two other aspects concerned with demanding objectives remain to be faced: social welfare and relations with small industry.

Regarding the welfare field, Novella reaffirms that the CGIL considers as its permanent task that of imposing a policy of improving welfare benefits, and he again made a firm protest against the attempt by the government to cut into the salaries of workers by withholding and reducing (the most recent example is the new burden of 1.4% for the pension fund).

## LABOR UNIONS IN MODERN SOCIETY

With reference to small and medium businesses, Novella confirms that in this field also demanding pressure must be considered a fundamental element of labor union action, with a positive function in relation to productive growth: it is clear, in fact, that the supine acceptance of a low salary condition would lead to placing these enterprising strata in positions which are merely defensive, conservative, and substantially subordinate to monopoly policy.

The line of labor union policy which we propose--Novella said at this point--objectively raises another deep-seated problem: that of a new position in democratic society for labor unions. The life of the country still leaves the labor union on the fringe of democratic activities and institutions and Italian managing classes consider the labor union as an institution which has forced itself upon the scene, but which must be barely tolerated and if possible, weakened.

A labor union should instead be considered an irreplaceable instrument in the construction of a modern society. It is a matter of counteracting the forces of pressure by big capital which increasingly act against the entire government machinery, by a force of pressure from a labor union of workers which must also be continuous, in all the organizations which decide the economic and social policy of the country.

The function of a labor union in modern society brings the discussion to the subject of labor union unity, Novella said, adding that the situation requires a radical change in the present relations among labor union organizations.

We must give to the labor union plurality of our country a new spirit which will achieve a new kind of relationship among all the worker's labor unions, which will institute their permanent solidarity and cooperation. If one considers that the first element of labor union autonomy is autonomy with respect to management, we must conclude that solidarity among labor unions and labor union unity is a condition of the bargaining power of workers, and a condition for labor union autonomy itself.

The CISL has stated its opposition to a systematic unity of action for the sake of autonomy from parties. "In this connection--Novella said, followed by great applause--we say that we are ready for a direct and responsible debate among the labor union organizations to examine specifically the conditions and guarantees for a real labor union autonomy from management, from parties, and from the executive branch of the government." Novella then added that unity of action is the promise to a more organic and continuous unity, and the promise to the creation of a single labor union organization for all

Italian workers. This remains one of the fundamental objectives of the CGIL.

#### AUTONOMY OF LABOR UNIONS

Novella neared the conclusion of his speech--which was interrupted by frequent applause--by taking up the themes of labor union functions, the renewal of its structures, its active presence in the entire life of the country and especially in corporations, and its financing.

The CGIL readily admits that it has been slow to make labor union policy autonomous; it was the logical result of twenty years of fascist dictatorship and of improvised methods to which it was forced after the Liberation.

This Fifth Congress already proves that we have gone ahead, as also proved by the great struggles crowned with success which has been waged in recent years, successful membership campaigns, and successful shop steward elections. We must forge ahead to make the CGIL a truly great mass organization which will take its place in all the centers of the economic, productive and social life of the country.

We must fill the gaps existing in some fields (clerical employees, young men, and women) heightening the worth of labor union victories, picturing its function in Italy and in other countries, giving these workers the opportunity to carry on their autonomous function within the labor union. Above all, it is necessary to achieve the most important and advanced objective, that of rightfully introducing the labor union into corporations, where there must be one-package bargaining, leaving to the shop stewards the accomplishment of tasks provided by the interfederation agreement.

Novella closed his speech by pointing out that the decision for a radical renewal of the Confederation by-laws was dictated by the need to adapt them to the changed characteristics of the united labor union organization, to the new problems which arise, to the experience acquired since 1944, so as to facilitate a radical renewal of the economic and social life of the country.

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- END -

## I. The Ideology of Peace and Socialism

Will Triumph Everywhere In

the World

The sputniks, the moon, and the space rockets of the Soviet Union tell of a new --- of a space-conquering ---era beginning in the life of mankind, in which man's possibilities of controlling nature and to create new machines to serve in improving the life of man continue to increase. At the same time they tell of the strength and achievements of a socialist system, which not even the country of the zenith of capitalist development -- the USA -- has been able to achieve. At the same time there has been powerful development in the other countries of the socialist camp, and the seamless collaboration and friendship among them aids the countries of socialism to achieve yet more new results.

### The National Liberation Movement

The successes of the socialist countries have roused the enthusiasm also of the development of national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It will be difficult for the representatives of the imperialist countries to convince these peoples of the necessity for foreign government, and the unfriendly reception of British Prime Minister MacMillan in his African tour and the unrest occasioned by USA President Eisenhower's visit in the countries of Latin America show that the peoples do not trust the imperialist countries; instead, they wish to determine their own affairs. On the Asian continent the imperialists have already for a long time been losing positions. And now, Africa is beginning to stretch her back and to shake the oppressors from her shoulders. The African liberation movement does not, of course, have an equally direct forward course. It faces many difficulties, and the struggles of even the most recent weeks have demonstrated the ruthless and bloody manner in which the oppressors are trying to crush the resistance.

But on the other hand, as the influence of the labor movements and of the Communist parties continues to increase, the anti-imperialist movement becomes all the more systematic and all the more powerful. The robber policy of the American imperialists, and the maintaining of that policy, will encounter ever-increasing resistance.

The recent extensive strikes and other unrests in Argentina, the unrests in behalf of the preservation of state supervision in the oil industry in Brazil and in Chile, and the unrests in Venezuela and Colombia, all tell of that resistance.

### The Crisis In Capitalism

While the unity and collaboration in the socialist camp continues strong, the dissensions in the imperialist camp continue to grow. The most important of these dissensions is the one existing between the USA and Britain, and which is evident everywhere---in the Near East, in the Middle East, in Africa and in Europe, as well as on the American continent.

For instance, the US capital investments in the oil industry of the Near East already mount to 1,700 million dollars, while the corresponding British investment is only 690 million dollars. The USA currently overshadows Britain in the foreign trade of every country. The USA has surpassed Britain, even as a sea power.

The economic development that has taken place in the world in recent decades has demonstrated the great superiority of the socialist system. The advent of an admittedly flourishing new period in the USA and the other capitalist countries matters little. For, the industrial and other economic developments of the leading capitalist countries during the postwar period have resulted only in a doubling of the prewar level. And even this development has taken place in extremely uneven fashion, uneven among the countries and unevenly among various fields within each country. Brief short-term upsurges have been followed by recessions or depressions, recovery from which has been slow. In addition, the upsurges have frequently arisen from the militarization of the economy and the promotion of the cold war.

The governing reins have become all the concentrated into the hands of monopoly combines that have accumulated their profits to mammoth proportions. The increased production in the capitalist countries has taken place mainly as a result of increased oppression of the workers and of the small producers. A great proportion of the production capacity remains unused, for instance, 20 percent in the USA. And unemployment

is a regular phenomenon, even during periods of economic upsurge.

The USA has about 4 million unemployed, Italy about 2 million. The automation and mechanization of production, which in recent times have increased, are factors that increase unemployment. The machines are generally set to run at such high speeds that it is only by putting forth extreme mental and physical effort that the workers find the strength to do their work. Since the hours have not been shortened, it has led to an even more rapid wearing away of the working ability of workers and to an increase in the amount of various kinds of disease that result from overwork. The buying power of the masses of people does not rise, and in several countries it decreases, which acts as a brake on the development of a capitalistic economy.

#### The Status of the Working Class In the Western Countries

Unemployment, pressures applied at work, the earlier incidence of inability to work, the increase in the incidence of diseases arising from overexertion, inflation, and the trend toward a decrease in real wages --- those are the scourges of capitalism that constantly keep the status of the workers insecure. When we add to this also the terror applied at the places of work, political insecurity and the relentless trampling of the rights of workers, militarization and the threat that war presents to the working class, it is plainly evident why the working class, together with the other exploited segments of the population, is in a position in which its interests are in categorical and uncompromising conflict with the interests of the capitalist class

To a certain extent the monopoly capitalists have been able to weaken and to constrain the struggle of the working class, and of the other exploited segments of the population, through powerful propaganda, divisionary tactics, and pressure tactics. Nevertheless, quite extensive strike movements exist in various countries. One of the largest was the strike of the US steelworkers last year, which lasted 116 days and would have lasted longer had not the Supreme Court interrupted it on the basis of the Taft-Hartley law.

#### The Capitalist Markets

The mass sale of goods still continues to be a crisis in the capitalist countries, as already Marx foretold in his *Das Kapital*. The market situation has become more critical for a number of reasons.

The revolutions and liberations of colonial peoples that took place after the second world war have caused an area-wide shrinking of the capitalist markets. When the great capitalistic powers began to follow a discriminatory trade policy toward the socialist countries and against certain of the liberated colonial countries, it meant a willfully brought about shrinking of markets. However, the fundamental cause of the growing crisis in the market situation is the fact that the rate of increase in the exchange of goods has not kept pace with production and with the potential increase in production.

The increased difficulty in the market situation has forced the large monopoly combines to seek methods of expanding their markets at the expense of other competitors. This has been carried on through the "freeing" of trade and under the banner of developing economic collaboration. Several types of alliances have been established after the second world war, of which the foremost in recent times have been the Outer Seven and the Six Nation market.

These attempts to form common markets have already quite adequately demonstrated the fact that they have very little to do with free trade and with rational economic collaboration. In the negotiations thus far conducted, the decisive authority has been held by the mighty capitalistic great powers and with the monopolies that determine their policies.

Common markets cannot eliminate the difficulties of the capitalist system. On the contrary, they aggravate the dissensions among the capitalist countries and weaken the status of toiling people in the countries that participate in common markets.

### The Superiority of Socialism

Only a socialist society can provide a way out of the conflicts and the difficulties of those who toil, that were created by the capitalist system. The conditions in which the newest accomplishments of technology and the results attained in the development of nuclear energy and in the field of space research can be effectively used for the good of nations and of mankind can be created only under socialism. This truth is, in fact, all the more clearly beginning to influence the opinions of people.



## The Competition Between Socialism and Capitalism

The Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union envisioned an increase of 7.7 percent in production during 1959. But, it increased by 11 percent. An increase of even one percent represents a mighty figure. For instance, the increase in industrial production in the Soviet Union in only one year is greater than the entire production in 1913, and greater also than the production in 1928 in the Soviet Union. Last year the Soviet Union already surpassed the USA in the per capita production of butter. In the overall production of milk, the Soviet Union last year exceeded the USA by 5 million tons. Long ago she surpassed the USA in the production of manganese ore, nickel, and asbestos. In the productivity of industrial effort, the Soviet Union has already now surpassed Britain and France and is constantly overtaking the USA. Furthermore, the rate of increase is constantly greater in the Soviet Union, where the increase in annual production is from 10 to 11 percent, while that in the USA averages from 2 to 3 percent.

The same is true of the other socialist countries. Thus, from 1955 to 1959, in a five-year period, industrial production increased in China by 243 percent, in Poland by 44 percent, in Czechoslovakia by 49 percent, in the German Democratic Republic by 42 percent, in Romania by 46 percent, in Bulgaria by 96 percent, and in Albania by 90 percent. In Hungary the increase in industrial production has been 43 percent since 1956. The increase in the annual production in the camp of the socialist world from 1950 to 1957 was 13.1 percent, as contrasted to 5.8 percent in the capitalist camp. For purposes of comparison, it is worth noting that from 1955 to 1959 the increase in industrial production in the USA was only 10 percent, and 9 percent in Finland. In 1965 the socialist countries will produce more than 50 percent of the world's industrial output.

## The Increase In Production and the Standard of Living

The overall production figures indicate the possibilities for development, but what is of greater significance to those who toil is how this increased production will affect the living conditions of the workers.

Reports at the beginning of last month told of new price reductions in the Soviet Union. The average increase in real wages during the Seven-Year Plan was 40 percent, and only recently there were increases, particularly of the lowest wages. Already at the beginning of this year 13

million Soviet workers, or 23 percent, were enjoying a 7-hour or 6-hour working day. During this year, all the other citizens of the Soviet Union will change to the shortened working day. No fear of unemployment exists in the Soviet Union, and the 1,200,000 men that were released from the army in the reduction of the armed forces are being welcomed in the various fields of work. Neither has the increase in either automation or mechanization increased the exertions of the workers; instead, in an ever-increasing number of the production establishments the work of the workers is changing into the controlling of machines, into the "pressing of buttons."

Social welfare expenditures increased in 1959 by 15 billion rubles over 1958. The social insurance system in the Soviet Union is the most progressive in the world and, together with the old age pension, it already guarantees free hospitalization, 112 days of maternity leave, rest home care and sanatorium care, and the like. And in general, the various cost-free services for the citizens are increasing; these include such services as free medical care, which was realized long ago. They are a beginning to the fulfillment of the Communist ideology --- to each according to need.

#### The Situation In the International Labor Movement

In the international scale, the Communist movement has continued to strengthen during the past three years. The Communist parties have gained new members, even in those countries where operations are extremely difficult, where oppression and prisons await every Communist.

The membership of the Communist parties is now 33 million, while the Social Democratic parties have 11 million members. During this time a process of unification of the greatest magnitude has taken place. The revisionist trends, which gained foothold particularly in the Danish, US, and Canadian parties after 1956, have been overcome and the parties are now developing operations in solidarity.

#### Communism Shall Conquer

A mighty matching of strengths is going on in a worldwide scale between two ideologies and two economic systems. We Communists know that the Communist ideology must win in this matching of strengths.

It has been scientifically proved that the development of society progresses from a lower stage to a higher stage. The development from capitalism to socialism is a historical necessity. In all respects Communism represents humaneness

of the greatest possible order and the using of all the vast development, that science and technology have created, for the welfare of mankind.

The humanistic quality of the Communist ideologies is revealed in the opposition to war and the use of force, in the opposition of oppression and exploitation, in the condemnation of racial segregation, in the aiding of weakly developed countries, and above all, in the improving of the life of man in all ways. As a counterbalance to the capitalist doctrines of force, that represent exploitation and oppression, the ideology of Communism must gain more and more new supporters throughout the world.

### THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE

The accomplishments of the Soviet Union, and the growth of her prestige on an international scale, mark to the peoples of the world the advent of a new, a more secure era. The peoples and the government of the Soviet Union have used the growing strength and might of an entire socialist state, on an international scale, for the strengthening of peace and peaceful coexistence.

The visits to various countries of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev and of other Soviet statesmen, of which the most recent was the highly successful visit in France, are historically new and precisely characteristic phenomena of this period in time. The personal intercourse and meetings of leading statesmen have proved to be an effective procedure for the strengthening of the cause of peace and of improving relations among countries.

Of these visits, the one that undoubtedly aroused the greatest attention was the tour of Comrade Khrushchev in the United States, if for no reason other than that it involved a meeting of the leaders of the two mightiest countries of the world, each possessing a differing system. The effect on the opinions of the peoples of this visit was extremely profound. The opinions of the Americans are illustrated in a sermon by a clergyman Steven G. Fritshman in Los Angeles, which he prepared immediately after hearing Comrade Khrushchev's speech on disarmament on the television, and in which he said, "With his speeches, Mr. Khrushchev for the first time reached the comprehension of our people, which for a decade and more has been shut off from such speeches because of our schools, press, radio, and television. The fact that some Americans agreed with him while others did not is not very important. Much more important is the fact that the White House and the Kremlin opened for us a classroom for

a period of 10 days, and 3,500 miles long and 1,400 miles broad, in which classes were held on double shifts."

### The Soviet Peace Policy in the UN

The proposals for peace that the Soviet Union has made in the UN and in other international bodies are other indications of the consistent and active policy of peace followed by the Soviet Union. The government and the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union continue to appeal, time and again, to the governments and parliaments of various countries and to international bodies, with proposals that aim for the resolving of international contentions and the preservation of peace.

Of these, the one of greatest significance and of continuing influence on the situation, both at present and in the next few years, was the Soviet proposal for a general and complete disarmament, which would mean a dispersal of the armed forces of countries, the extermination of all forms of military science, armaments, and military preparedness, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and the destruction of nuclear weapons stockpiles.

Comrade Khrushchev's speech, in which the proposal was made in the UN, had a profound effect on opinion even in our own country. Its effect was so great that, in their first reports, even the bourgeois press and the Finnish Information Bureau gave truthful accounts of it and admitted the significance of the proposition. It was not until a few days had elapsed that the international propaganda machine of the reaction recovered from its confusion and began to present its subterfuges and falsehoods.

### The Counterreaction of the Reactionary Forces in Finland

But how weak indeed are the arguments presented against disarmament! Many days prior to Comrade Khrushchev's speech the Finnish Information Bureau and the rightist press announced that they had learned that he would make a new proposal in the UN that would have a decisive effect on the international situation.

But when the Soviet proposal was delivered in its full might, the propagandists of the reaction could not, in their consternation, conceive of anything else to say except that the proposal contains nothing new, and that is what they have been harping on ever since. Do they really think that people will believe that it is nothing new when, for the first time

in the history of mankind, the leader of one of the most powerful states on earth, that possesses the best modern weapons, makes a proposal for a general and complete disarmament?

When the decision was made in the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to reduce the Soviet armed forces by 1,200,000 men, in addition to the 2,140,000 men that have been demobilized during the past four years, the counterargument was the same. The decision of the Supreme Soviet means that every third Soviet soldier is returning home, but there are newspapers even in our own country that proclaim that this has no significance.

When the first report of the Soviet reduction of armed forces was received, the Helsingin Sanomat explained that N. S. Khrushchev was giving the leaders of the Western countries gray hairs and was putting them into a difficult position. The peoples of the world rejoiced in such a cause of graying hairs, particularly when the honorable statesmen could avoid graying hairs by following the example of the Soviet Union.

The newspapers of Finland have gone along with the international reactionary press in trying to foist the belief that the reductions of armed forces and the disarmament proposals were necessary in that the Soviet Union was otherwise allegedly unable to fulfill her economic obligations. The Turun Sanomat, for instance, wrote that the measure was dictated by financial policy. Undoubtedly the peoples would gladly welcome a financial policy in which military preparedness appropriations are applied against the prices of consumer goods, for wage increases, and for other advantages for the people, but that of course, is not what the rightist quarters mean or wish.

### The International Peace Movement

The international situation is now such that the proponents of the cold war are suffering one setback after another. Such crucial changes have taken place in the opinions of nations that an entirely different type of policy is required to win the support of the masses of people. That is indicated by the constantly expanding movement of the Peace Defenders, the even more active operations of that movement in various countries, and the improved possibilities it has for collaborating with the peace movements of other countries.

The nations are beginning to see all the more clearly that it depends on their own actions what kind of policies their statesmen will follow. This has led to the fact that political circles even in the Western countries, which thus far have adhered to a policy of force, are seeking another policy that would to a greater degree take into consideration

realistic power relationships and the aspirations of nations.

#### Other Favorable Indications

Favorable indications already appear legion. All the member nations of the UN approved the principle of general and complete disarmament at the XIVth General Session, and which furthermore took place on the basis of a proclamation jointly drafted by Soviet and US representatives. The call to convene a summit conference was also an important outcome in this development.

Even the Geneva disarmament negotiations commenced under favorable auspices. By now, however, the endeavors of the Western capitalistic countries to lead the negotiations to an impasse are clearly discernible. They are quite anxious to prohibit the use of only those weapons that they do not possess. In respect to other weapons, their representatives talk only of inspection, which in reality means espionage activity, for what can one inspect if no decision has been reached in respect to disarmament and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons? The Soviet Union has again made a new proposal, a so-called five-point proposal that has for its aim the hurdling of the standstill situation, but obviously the representatives of the capitalist countries continue to find new subterfuges. That is the reason that vigorous activity is constantly needed on the part of the masses of people, in behalf of disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

#### West Germany As a Threat to Peace

The bright prospects for the preservation of peace do not mean, however, that the fomenters of war do not continue to be active and doing all they can to increase international tension. The aggressive and openly militaristic policy of West Germany are the foremost causes of unrest in Europe. Adenauer's conduct points clearly to fantasies of dictatorship and that neo-Hitlerite plans of conquest thrive strongly. There are 1,300 various types of Fascist and military organizations in the Bonn republic, and the Bonn government has, even as ministers, several former SS members and other Hitlerite leaders. In fact, two international Fascist organizations have been established there, the "New European Order" and the "European Social Movement," and even former Finnish SS members attended the meeting of the latter organization.

The renewed arise of West German militarism presents an extreme danger to the independence and peace of Finland. When it became known in early March that West Germany was seeking

military bases in Spain, War Minister Strauss explained quite candidly that West Germany was seeking to protect European security in the north as well.

We in our own country must make certain that we do not make foreign policy concessions to West Germany any more than to the imperialistic policy of any other country.

#### The Desire for Peace of Nations and the Summit Conference

It is extremely important that the desires for peace of the peoples of all lands be strongly brought to the fore, prior to the summit conference, which already is less than a month away.

A summit conference such as this does not by any means mean the resolution of all issues, but the fact that it will convene is a result of the active nature of the peace movement in the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries, and among other peoples and, in the present situation, it may even bring about concrete results. Above all, the summit conference may promote the attaining of better common understanding among statesmen, who bear a great responsibility in international affairs.

#### Finland and Peaceful Coexistence

What should be the attitude of our country in the currently prevailing international situation? There can be but one --- peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of the peace through active measures and proposals. Even though as greatly as the extreme right has become emboldened in promoting and propagandizing an entirely opposite policy in recent times, the fact of the matter is that the strengthening of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist world is having a powerful effect not only on the opinions and actions of the masses of peoples, but also on the attitudes of the leaders of several parties in our own country.

The policy of good neighborly relations demanded by the popular masses, and which has been adopted as official, has had a deeply felt and favorable effect on both the economy and the political life of our country. Finland has furnished an example to the capitalist countries of how collaboration with the Soviet Union and the countries of the entire socialist camp is beneficial to nations and, in the case of small countries, how it ensures peace and independence for them. It already comprises a great favorable contribution by our country to international progress, and it must strengthen not weaken, as the reactionary quarters are striving to do.

The Parliament and the administration could promote the consolidating of international peace to a much greater degree than they are at present if they would listen to the voice of the popular masses and would not allow the fringe rightists to influence them, as the case now is. That is what happened in the attitude taken in respect to the common market. And that happened also in respect to the Soviet disarmament proposal. The administration would not bring the Soviet Union Supreme Soviet appeal for disarmament for discussion in the Parliament. Yet, bringing forth the feelings of the Finnish Parliament on this issue would have greatly promoted the realization of this matter that is so important even to our nation.

#### The Attitude of the Rightist Quarters

The argument against the demands that Finland take a position on the proposals for peace generally is that Finland, as a small country, cannot have any influence on international affairs. But, when it comes to the issue of war memorials and the fomenting of war spirit, the propaganda of the reaction stresses that Finland is capable of mighty deeds that the entire world allegedly wonders at and admires.

Finland enjoys a special position in the esteem of the world and in international bodies, namely, as a country representative of peaceful coexistence. Even the rightist quarters are aware of this, and that is why they are so quick to yelp out when the Finnish representatives, for instance in the UN, take a position that is even slightly in conflict with the position taken by the Western imperialist countries, as for instance, happened when the Finnish representatives in the UN joined in the motion condemning the swastika mania in West Germany.

The rightist quarters do not even attempt to act in accordance with the interests of our nation, but instead, to act in accordance with the interests of the international monopolistic circles. By observing their instructions, our country would again be led on the same course of suffering, to which the rows of crosses on our graves from the last war are witness. Another war would be even more destructive.

#### West Germany Is a Threat to Finland as Well

It is extremely important from the standpoint of preserving peace for our country that our nation stands resolutely and actively against the militarization of West Germany.



Finland has committed herself, through the Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance Pact between Finland and the Soviet Union, to repulse any armed attack by Germany or by any country allied with Germany.

The administration and the Parliament have the obligation of preventing the spread of West German economic and political influence into our country. The statements of the West German leaders about the expanding of lebensraum /living space/ and about the readjustment of boundaries, and of like matters, is evidence of an impending threat from that quarter.

The violations of democratic rights that have been directed against the German Communist Party are extremely disturbing. One of our important tasks is the demanding of the rights of public activity for the German Communist Party.

#### For a More Active Policy of Neutrality

A clear position on behalf of peace is not in conflict with Finnish neutrality. Activity aiming for the consolidating of peace is fully in keeping with the ideology of peace, since the preserving of the peace is equally important for all nations.

Nothing could be more damaging to Finnish neutrality than the taking of a position of assisting the policy of the Western imperialist great powers, or the taking of some kind of a vanguard position against the socialist countries, for which the extreme right is striving. Experience has shown that when Finland's good relations with the Soviet Union become a matter of doubt, the result is that, in the eyes of the rest of the world, Finnish independence and selfdetermination are at stake. The less reason there is for conjecture in this respect, so much the more secure becomes the independent and peaceful position of our country, on the boundary between two differing social systems.

Only peace, that is based on the peaceful coexistence of capitalist and socialist countries, is a valid assurance for the security of small countries, including our own. In that respect, our country could exert more influence than it has thus far in winning the Nordic countries to the protecting of peace. The fact that Denmark and Norway are members of the North Atlantic alliance presents an extremely serious threat to all of the Nordic countries. Since West Germany, with her desires for aggression, is also a member of that alliance, Norway and Denmark may, even against their wishes, become involved in the entanglements caused by West Germany. From the standpoint of the interests of the Nordic countries, it is therefore essential that Denmark and Norway assume positions of neutrality. That would also promote the

realization of the slogan --- Make the Baltic A Sea of Peace --- that so closely concerns the Nordic and Baltic nations.

The creating of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries, the guaranteeing of the Baltic as a sea of peace, and the supporting of disarmament, are issues shared in common by all the Nordic nations. Finland can exert great influence toward the realization of these objectives, for instance in the Nordic Council and in other forms of Nordic collaboration, if only the administration would adopt an attitude in these matters that is in accordance with the aspirations and demands of our nation.

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FINLAND

The period between the Eleventh and the Twelfth Congresses has marked favorable political developments in Finland as well. The clearest evidence of this was the parliamentary election of 1958. The number of votes, 450,506, won by the People's Democratic election coalition was greater than that of any other political group. The People's Democratic parliamentary group became the largest in the Parliament. For the first time since 1917 the members of parliament elected by the votes of the workers formed the majority in Parliament.

#### The Organizational Activity Gains Strength

Concurrently, our party has become strong and its organizational and ideological influence among the toilers has increased. And in general, the network of People's Democratic organizations has grown and its membership increased. The circulation of our press has also been extended.

Immediately after the war our press experienced a vigorous increase in circulation, which was of a somewhat "parlor nature." As a result of the strengthening of the attacks of the reaction, the circulation of our newspapers decreased, but during the last three years, and particularly since 1958, there has been a steady increase in circulation despite extensive unemployment and increased economic difficulties for those who toil. Particularly gladdening is the continuing increase in the circulation of the Kansan Uutiset. Our periodicals press also has held its own very well in strong competition with a steadily increasing number of periodicals.

Despite the vigorous dispersive attempts of the rightists, they have not succeeded in destroying the workers' common mass organizations --- the Finnish Federation of Labor (SAK)

and the Workers' Sports Union (TUL). In defending the existence of these organizations, and of the rights of workers, their memberships have gained ideological stature and the spirit of working together has become better defined.

### The Maturing of the Way of Thinking

The more clearer expressing of the will for peace by our nation is also evidence of favorable development. The attitude of our people is already quite cool toward the war rantings of the rightist quarters, and practically all of the citizenry --- with the exception of those who follow close in the wake of the extreme right --- support friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. The persevering work by our party, by all the People's Democratic organizations, by the Finnish Peace Defenders organization, by the Finland-Soviet Union Society, and by all peace-loving people, for the clarification of these matters has thus not been in vain.

The great achievements of socialism and the cause of peace, on an international scale, and the good attitude of the Soviet Union toward Finland, have been of extremely great significance in the changing of the attitudes of people. Brisk mutual intercourse between Finland and the Soviet Union in the form of visits by statesmen and various types of delegations, tourism, and in the advantage inherent in the commerce between Finland and the Soviet Union, have created a basis for the further developing of relations.

### Extensive Work Among the Masses

In many issues, unrelenting work, and the experience of the masses themselves, has led to the adoption of our party's slogans as standpoints that are universally approved. The necessity of struggle for gaining wage improvements and a shorter working day are of such type. The issue of unemployment insurance did not at first ignite, as the saying goes. We explained about the matter and talked about it constantly. Gradually the masses of workers and small farmers began to see the importance and necessity of unemployment insurance, and to come forth united in behalf of it.

The same thing has happened in the political sphere. Many workers --- especially the workers of Social Democratic affiliation --- could not at first understand why we leveled such strong criticism against the policies of certain of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party.

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antagonistic to the interests of the workers and the cause of peace, has led to a situation in which there is arising a realization, not only among the mass of membership of that party, but also among its leaders and among the broad masses of workers, that these men are not suited to be numbered among the leaders of a worker's party.

### The Crisis in Social Democracy

The schism that has ruptured the Social Democratic Party is also evidence of the changes in opinion and the situation. That schism has marked the creating of two parallel Social Democratic party organizations, of two daily newspapers, and of two parallel youth and women's organizations. The crisis and schism in Social Democracy is an international phenomenon. It has been most clearly discernible in France and Japan, but it has occurred also in Britain, Italy, and many other countries. Nowhere, and not even in Finland, does it arise merely from personal disagreements among a few of the Social Democratic leaders, nor from aspirations for power, although of course, even these factors play a large part in the policies of the petty bourgeoisie.

The causes for it arise primarily from the dissatisfaction that the supporters and members of the Social Democratic parties feel for the policies followed for decades by the leaders of those parties, in which the interests of the working class have been forgotten, which have fought against the increasing of wages, and which sometimes openly, and sometimes more covertly, have followed a policy of promoting the interests of big capital.

This policy is known in Finland by the names of economic domestic tranquility, wage controls, and pay scales that sharpen the sweat-shop system. It is known also as urgings to sacrifice one's self for the "stabilization" of the economy and for the creating of a basis for a capitalist "national home." The members and supporters of that party have noted that the advantage accruing from such a policy goes entirely to the big corporations, while unemployment increases and the standard of living of wage workers deteriorates. Those things could not have happened without being reflected in the Social Democratic Party --- whether or not the Social Democratic leaders and workers admit it, or are aware of it.

In the internal discussions in the Social Democratic Party this dissatisfaction is most commonly expressed as a fear of the increasing influence of the Communists, or as criticism of the party leadership for the uncompromising attitude toward the Social Democratic opposition faction.

But even at that it is a reflection of the fact that the masses are dissatisfied with a policy that is in harmony with the interests of big capital, and the promoting of such a policy will not bring support. That is why the representatives of the Social Democratic opposition faction seek, at least in the form of slogans and demands, to make known the hopes of the workers in respect to wage increases, security against unemployment, relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, and like matters, although even they are inconsistent in promoting these causes. The dissatisfaction with the policy of the Social Democratic leaders is expressed also in the form of passivity, in both organizational activity and at election time.

#### Agrarian Union Losses

Changes have taken place in the attitudes also of the rural population. The small farmers found themselves in great difficulties after 1956, when there was an abrupt and steep decline in demand arising from the lack of buying power of the masses of workers, when there was an actual crisis in the disposing of the supply of dairy products.

In that connection, the petty bourgeois delusionary ideas, that then prevailed among small farmers, according to which it was alleged that it was possible to attain the abundant life for small farmers under capitalism, were also shipwrecked. The dissatisfaction with the economic and agricultural policy then followed was directed particularly against the leadership of the Agrarian Union and its policy, since it was in great measure responsible for the policy of increasing misery. As a result, the Agrarian Union suffered an upset in the 1958 parliamentary election, losing tens of thousands of votes from what it had in the previous parliamentary election.

#### Shifting To the SKDL

However, the dissatisfactions that the small farmer population felt for the policy of the Agrarian Union leadership did not yet in the last parliamentary election lead the small farmers to shift into the ranks of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL) in any great extent, with the exception of a few northerly districts.

But on the other hand, that trend has become evident after the election. It has become especially evident during the SKDL operational campaign, in a remarkable growth in SKDL membership, mainly in the rural areas, as well as in the

unusually rapid increase in the membership of our party, particularly in the northerly districts.

#### Dissatisfaction Among the Intellectuals

Changes of attitude have occurred also among others than the workers and the small farmers. Fairly strong criticism is leveled in intellectual circles --- especially among the younger intellectuals --- against the outmoded conservative cultural policy and against big business interference in cultural affairs. Open criticism has been voiced among the younger intellectuals also in respect to issues of peace and foreign policy. But anyone who expresses opposition to the policies of the rightists becomes subject to aggravated slander and persecution, which prevents the dissatisfactions from burgeoning forth in as an extensive scale as would otherwise happen.

#### The SKDL Work in Parliament

In the opinion of the leadership of our party, the SKDL group in Parliament has done valuable work for the good of progress, not only through a unanimous and unfaltering struggle in Parliament on all issues important to those who toil, but also in that those members of Parliament have actively and quite decisively participated in organizing and leading the activities of the masses.

The work of the group in Parliament has played a remarkable role, for instance in the 1958 election victory. In addition to the party organizations and the SKDL, the Democratic Women in particular have been active in bringing the issues in Parliament to the awareness of extensive masses. That was brought forth in the campaign for the improvement of child subsidies and old age pensions, but also in the unemployment research they conducted and in the collecting of signatures in the programs of demands. In general, the work of the parliamentary group has been more closely associated than formerly with the demands and mass activities of the workers, which has served to bring it to the greater awareness of the masses.

#### The Rightists Attack

The extreme right is doing everything it can to prevent international progress. Hardly has there been a time in the postwar years that memories of the war have been revived with the enthusiasm that they have been during recent years and



months. They have not been satisfied, for instance, merely with jubilees and celebrations observing the anniversaries of the opening and closing of the Winter War [of 1939-40], but they had to recall actual day-to-day events about which to write newspaper articles or hold commemorative events.

Various organizations of a military nature, and even former Fascist organizations, have for years been conspicuously present at the unveiling events of war memorials and statues and at the awarding of medals. The names even of such [unlawful] organizations as the Lotta Svard and the Civic Guards have appeared spasmodically in the lists of participants and in newspaper articles. The rightist newspapers carry anti-Soviet propaganda continuously.

The defamation of the Finnish Communists is a daily occurrence. In addition, it extends also even to certain Agrarian Union bourgeoisie, and to all those who speak favorably of good relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. Even the slightest attempts of Finnish delegations in international bodies to come forth in the cause of peace are met with opposition by the rightists.

The effort for a change in course is not, by any means, limited merely to propaganda. The strivings to join the seven-nation market are aimed, primarily, toward a political alliance with the Western capitalist countries. In many a way have the connections with the Western capitalist countries been strengthened. Intercourse with West Germany has been enlivened.

The most varied types of American foundations, organizations, and universities are organizing so-called stipendships and lecture tours in America for Finnish politicians, economists, students, and others. The stipulations of many of them have been, in addition to praising American conditions in Finland, the public disparagement of relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. The MRA [?] is playing an important role as a disseminator of anti-Soviet and cold war propaganda in Finland. The reactionary press in turn is filled with praises for the American way of life, while at the same time seeking in many ways to present Soviet conditions and aspirations in a bad light.

All this public display by the extreme right is complemented by the persecution by the Coalition Party of all those politicians who ever so slightly appear in a more progressive manner.

Big capital has numerous methods of applying pressures, but the most important of them are economic. Those who work in the TUL have had occasion to observe at first hand the huge sums that are brought into play when the bourgeoisie considers

it important politically that some athlete separate himself from the workers' sports movement. At least equally as large sums are involved in many other fields. Wavering politicians fear also the "total defamation" to which they subject themselves by taking positions in opposition to the strivings of the rightists. That is the reason why a powerful mass movement is needed to prevent the marching forward of the rightists and to counter their strivings for a change in foreign policy.

The only countermeasure against them is a mass movement so powerful, and a bringing forth of opinions and demands that is so clear, that the members of Parliament, the ministers, and all others who hold public office, will see that they will lose the support of the people by promoting the policies of the rightists.

#### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND STRUGGLE AGAINST BIG CAPITAL

In preparing for this congress, we chose as topics for party discussion the concentration and monopolization of capital, the strengthening of exploitation and of oppression that arise from it, and the developing of a struggle for limiting the power of big capital. The selection of the topic arose from the fact that the increased exploitation and oppression are making life all the more difficult for the toiling segments of our nation, for which reason it is essential to explain, more fully than heretofore, the various aspects of the power of big capital and the exploitation practiced by monopolies, in order that we may more effectively organize the struggle against them.

The investigation and discussion we have thus far conducted may have confirmed the instability of our economic situation, the rapid pace of concentration, and the increasing of the oppression and exploitation directed against all toiling segments of our population.

Fifty large enterprises control 75 percent of the industrial investment capital, nearly one half of the labor force, two thirds of the industrial power, and more than a half of production. The bank capital has become concentrated in two major banks --- the Pohjoismaiden Yhdyspankki and the Kansallis-Osake-Pankki --- which have a controlling effect also on the savings banks, the cooperative funds, and the insurance establishments. The concentration of industrial and banking capital into the hands of a few families of financiers --- 20 families --- can assuredly be demonstrated.

## The Monopolies in Agriculture and Trade

Monopolization does not extend merely into the industrial sphere, but also into the processing and retailing, as well as the extending of credits in agriculture, most of which is in the hands of monopolies that in turn are tied to banks of commerce and the export monopolies. The interrelationships that have grown up among the producers cooperatives that in times past were established to protect the interests of the peasantry have caused them to turn into controlling monopolies. Such producers' cooperatives include Valio, Tuottajain Lihakeskuskunta, Vientikunta Muna, Karjakunta, and others.

In the critical sphere of trade and transportation also, the development of capitalism has led to ever-increasing concentration, the formation of monopolies. The wholesale trade has become concentrated into the hands of a few large corporations, and import trade likewise. In many ways the wholesale firms, few in number, are tied to the combines of industrial monopolies and the kartels, thus forcing in ever-increasing degree retail trade also to observe the set prices that the great monopolies and kartels determine for commodities, either through government sanctions or by mutual agreement.

This being the case, the dependency of trade, and particularly of retail trade, on the industrial monopolies has increased. The retail dealer no longer is "a free enterpriser," but some kind of an intermediary for commodities, the amount of whose "handling commission" is determined for him by the industrial monopolies.

## The Wood Processing Industry and the Seven-nation Market

The mightiest monopolies in our land are primarily those of the wood processing industry, which also control the metals and textiles industries. These monopoly combines work closely with foreign monopoly capital and follow the wishes of those interests.

They also are the ones that most heatedly have demanded Finnish participation in some common market area, since the great capitalist countries such as the USA, Britain, and West Germany have become nettled over the friendly relations that have developed between Finland and the Soviet Union since the Second World War. Above all, they would like to effect a change in Finnish foreign policy by tying our country into some seven-nation market, which would also mean throwing our doors wide open to foreign capital.

In fact, the part played already by foreign capital in the Finnish economy is generally increasing, as the examples of the iron mines and the oil corporations will attest.

The great Finnish monopolies are quite willing to surrender, through common markets, to foreign monopolies the markets that thus far have been in the control of small and medium large enterprises, by the removal of import duties. That would result in losses, particularly to the domestic market industries, and the slight increase in exports would accrue only to the benefit of the great monopolies. The common markets thus are, even in our country, designs of the great monopolies, and they signify the attack of the monopolized capital against non-monopolized capital.

The common market countries generally are of the so-called old capitalist types of countries in whose internal markets there remains little opportunity for expansion, owing to the shrinking buying power of their populations. By joining one of them the Finnish economy would be placed in an even more uncertain position, whereas trade with the socialist countries would result in constantly increasing new possibilities for increased employment and production.

The danger of joining common markets still continues to exist. The authorized representatives of the administration have been in continuous negotiations with the "seven-nation countries" in an effort to discover how Finland could be joined into the closed markets, and that is why the struggle against joining must still be continued.

#### State Monopoly Capitalism in Finland

Characteristic also of the economic policy of recent years is the fact that the big capitalists have succeeded in even greater degree in subjugating the government into the service of reaping their profits. We in Finland can already talk about a highly developed form of state monopoly capitalism,

Through state assistance, inflation has been maintained and a devaluation of the currency was carried through, which greatly increased the profits of the monopoly combines of the wood processing industry. The government is constantly granting tax reductions, freight and customs reductions, and the like, to the big corporations. Both the state and the communes sell electric power at low cost to the big corporations. The state is also playing a role of increasing importance as a capitalist in our country. It holds the greatest share in the mining industry, and the basic chemical industries are in the hands of the government. Of the electric power that is sold, 85 percent comes from stateowned establishments, and

everyone is acquainted with such establishments as the State Railroads and the postal system. We do not oppose governments taking control of production, on the contrary, we even demand it, but now, while the capitalist class is in power, the state-owned establishments also are being managed in accordance with capitalistic principles and in a way that benefits the big monopoly combines. That is the kind of managing of affairs that we oppose.

#### The Depreciation of Real Income

The standard of living of the working class has continued to remain low. For instance, the real wages of the industrial workers in 1958 were --- according to the cost-of-living index --- as much as 17 to 18 percent lower than what was agreed on in the terms of ending the general strike of 1956. However, in late winter 1958 industrial workers were given a wage increase of 4 percent, another one of 3 percent in early 1959, and now at the end of 1959 another one averaging 3 percent. The wage increases granted after the contract ending the general strike have therefore totalled about 10 percent.

But, since the cost-of-living index during the same time has gone up by 28 percent, we can conclude that real wages at this time are, according to official statistics, about 14 percent lower than they were at the time of concluding the contract ending the general strike. Unemployment has been constantly extensive and taxation has become all the more burdensome.

#### The Speed-Up System

The automation of production and the mechanization of operations have, in certain fields, become relatively highly developed in Finland, of which even the fact that industrial production per worker increased by about 70 percent during the period 1938-1958 is evidence.

Automation has developed rapidly particularly in the paper and woodpulp industry. Quite obviously we have not heretofore given adequate attention to the speed-up in the rate of work as a factor that greatly affects the lives of the workers. In conversations, workers have told of how they must strive their utmost to keep pace with the present speed of work. There are production facilities in which the maximum age is 38 years, because the employers feel that anyone older than that can no longer keep pace with the work. Occupational and nervous diseases have increased among the workers at alarming proportions. If for no other reason, that alone is enough to make the demand for a shorter working day a current

issue. The developing of a struggle on these issues in a more broad scale is absolutely essential for the protecting of the health and lives of the workers.

### The Status of the Rural Population

The economic position of the toiling population in the rural areas has also continuously declined.

The prices paid to the producers of cereal grains and of livestock forage have been continuously and sharply increased, while the prices paid to producers of dairy products have been increased much less. The large producers of grains for the market are the principal beneficiaries of such an agricultural policy, while the small farmers, whose main income from farming is from the sale of milk and other dairy products, suffer from such a price policy. The small farmer population must frequently resort to loans, and the usurious interest rates make the position of that population all the more difficult. The increase in indirect state taxation and the increased communal taxation occasioned by the burdens imposed on the communes have also increased the tax burden of the workers in the rural areas. The real income, from agriculture, of the small farmers has, in fact, declined quite sharply during the recent period.

### Unemployment In the Countryside

The small farmers are also greatly in the need of wage work outside their own farms. However, the mechanization of agriculture and forest industry, the elimination of certain phases of work in timber felling, and the increasing popularity of contract selling [ of timber stands ], make the finding of wage work all the more difficult.

Both potential and actual unemployment have increased quite drastically in the rural areas during recent years. The fact that, when the official unemployment figure rose to 100,000 during last year's period of unemployment, 60,000 of these unemployed were in the rural areas, is evidence of that. And at that, there was a great number of those small farmers who --- because of the land holding limitations of the Unemployment Act --- were ineligible for the card files of the unemployed and thus were not registered in the official statistics.

The extensive unemployment in the rural areas creates extraordinary possibilities for the big farmers and the monopolies of the wood processing industry to intensify their exploitation of the rural workers and the small farmers.

The wage trend of recent years in timber felling work does not mean merely that the buying power of the wages has declined, but also that the actual nominal wages have decreased, quite drastically in the case of teamsters wages. While the average annual period of operations in timber felling was considered 100 days in 1950, it currently amounts to only 75 days. The decrease in income from timber felling work is thus clearly demonstrated.

#### Management Personnel

The standard of living of management personnel, anymore than that of state and communal employees, frequently is no better than that of wage workers, in some cases not even reaching that level. In that respect, their positions do not in any way differ from that of the workers. The rises and declines in their real salaries, particularly in recent times have, moreover, been dependent on the developments in workers' wages.

#### The Small Enterprisers

The actual intermediate segment between the cities and the populated areas consists of the small enterprisers. No reliable statistics are available on the numbers of them. On the basis of certain reports, we might be able to estimate their number at 60,000 to 70,000, in which case those employing a maximum of five persons are considered a small enterprisers. A constant flowing goes on in the intermediate segment. Fields which formerly were controlled by small enterprisers are either disappearing or are being taken over by the big capitalists. Even those obstacles that thus far have acted as deterrents to the efforts of the big capitalists to seize markets have been eliminated, or are in process of being eliminated.

At this time, the common market plans present the the greatest threat to the small enterprisers of industry and the handicrafts.

The big-corporation policy is thus in glaring conflict with the interests of the toiling segments of the population and with the national interests of our country.

Simultaneously as the living conditions of all toiling segments of the population have become aggravated, the big corporations have been grabbing bigger profits than ever before. The prime evidence of that consists not only of the tremendous growth of capital investments and of contingency funds, but also the profit figures shown in the ledgers, although these give only a mere shadow of the actual profits.

The common interest of all segments of the population that have been caught in the squeeze of big capital is the opposing of the exploitation practised by monopoly capital and the limiting of its rapacious powers.

### Nationalization of Big Corporations

The tasks set forth in the program of our party include, during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the nationalization of the industrial and other enterprises, the natural resources, and the foreign trade that are controlled by the big corporations. As long as the power of government rests in the hands of the capitalist class, the big corporations will use the means of production to their own benefit. We are of the opinion that the idea of nationalization must be brought to the fore more vigorously than heretofore.

We support the nationalization of such private monopoly combines and fields that have reached advanced monopolization in which the workers are ready to arise in mass political struggle in behalf of nationalization. Under those circumstances nationalization can be carried out in such a way that it will truly limit the power of the monopolies and ease the position of those who toil. Only then will it also contribute in the struggle for the broadening of democracy in both the economic and the political spheres of life, and in the winning of political power into the hands of the working class.

The profound conflicts that exist in the capitalistic system can be resolved only through a fundamental sociological change. The social revolution to effect the socialist reformation has become a historical necessity in Finland as well. The categorical contradiction between the interests of big capital and the interests of all the toiling segments of the population creates a basis for the comprehending of the common interest of all those who work, for the allying of the small farmers, the white-collar workers, and the small enterprisers with the entire working class into the common cause of overthrowing the ruling power of big capital.

### II. Every Improvement Still Follows A Hard Struggle

The most important thing for all ordinary people is the preserving of peace. Our country possesses also the most favorable experiences in peaceful coexistence. The advantages of the good relations between Finland and the Soviet Union --- the differences in the social systems notwithstanding --- have proved to be extremely great, which has continuously



weakened the support that the rightists have had in their efforts to sow suspicion and hate between our nations. There are many of those in the ranks of all the parties who understand that the only proper foreign policy for Finland is one that assures peace and peaceful coexistence. It therefore is an issue of wherein the interests of all the citizens are most clearly shared.

The slogan of a general and complete disarmament must certainly arouse the enthusiasm of even those who thus far have felt that the issue of peace does not involve them. The appallingly destructive nature of a new war, and the extensive devastation it would cause, are facts that will make even those people support the cause of peace who, for some reason or other, have thus far been apathetic toward it.

The main factors, in our country as well as in other countries, are the masses of people. They are the ones who will determine the destiny of peace.

The decisions also of the leaders of the great powers at the summit conference will depend on the degree of activity of the masses, and therefore the forces of peace in our country must do their part in making their will known.

#### The Extending of Democratic Rights

The extreme right has always looked askance at the granting of more democratic rights to worker organizations, but which became the order of the day even in Finland after the victory of the Soviet army over Fascist Germany and her allies. The continuing growth of our party and of the People's Democratic movement have, in particular, been bitter pills for the rightists to swallow, but which they nevertheless have been forced to swallow. Nor have they been able to carry out their plans for the commanding power of a "strong man", or for the changing of the election system to the basis of a simple majority. However, they did succeed in effecting a decision to lengthen the term of office of the Parliament, in carrying out limitations on the freedom of speech and assembly of the workers at many places of employment, and in the depriving of the right to strike at unemployment projects, through threats of discharge and periods of quarantine. The rightists are striving to prevent wage struggles at other places of employment as well, through the assistance of the so-called protection of the law organizations.

Many measures are effected also to restrict the Parliament's authority to act. It frequently happens that laws enacted by the Parliament are nullified by a decree of the

administration. It is difficult to keep checking on the agencies and bureaus that are under the jurisdiction of the Parliament. Bureaucracy flourishes and the misappropriation of public funds is becoming all the more common, while even the courts treat the big grafters with tender hands.

The elimination of these limitations and inequities would give the Parliament an aura of a true national assembly, which would ease the work of those members of Parliament who wish to promote the interests of the working people, and not those of big capital. That would also permit the work of the Parliament to reach its true worth, and it could then, in a new way, influence the internal affairs of the country.

The limitations of the authority to act are even more apparent in the case of the communes. The representatives of big capital apply pressures on communal bodies to influence their decisions, while the autonomy of the communal bodies are being limited all the more. The authority to make decisions is shifting all the more away from the constituted bodies to the communal administrations, and from them to the officials. The state bodies are making decisions on many matters that formerly were in the jurisdiction of the communes, including taxation, and the like. The provincial governments overrule decisions of the administrations and constituted bodies of cities and communes, as has happened several times in the case of communes in which the People's Democrats were in the majority. Should a provincial government make a just decision, it is overruled by the Supreme Court, as happened in the so-called Helsinki sports building case.

#### The Policy of Segregation

The issue involved is also the violation of democratic rights when the People's Democratic movement, to which one out of four voters gives his vote in the elections, is continuously and deliberately kept from participating in the administration. All the prerequisites exist in Finland for the forming of a democratic administration that follows a policy of reform, and that would have the support of a strong majority in the Parliament.

That would require, above all, collaboration among all the workers' parties, which in turn would create the basis for collaboration with the peasantry of the Agrarian Union and with other organizations representing workers. By means of such an administration the carrying out of the policy of peace, the protecting of the interests of those who toil, and the repulsing of the attempts of the reactionaries

to resume the power they had, could all be effected more adequately than at present.

However, that would require the Social Democratic leaders to refuse to collaborate with the Coalition Party, and a more bold position of opposition to the policies of the rightists on the part of the Agrarian Union.

Nevertheless, some day these parties will find it necessary to take these steps. The present policy of a minority administration cannot be continued forever as a governmental policy.

Democratic rights are under constant threat, and the protecting and extending of them is one of the most important tasks in the crushing of the might of big capital. The most critical issues in the preservation of democratic rights are the limiting of the political and economic powers of big capital, and the preventing of the extreme rightists from gaining positions in the administration, since that is the very thing that has as its objective the restricting of democratic rights. Those tasks can be accomplished primarily through the united strength of the working class. But at the same time, the broadening of democracy is a general national task, and all segments of the working population will benefit from the realization of it.

### Solidarity of the Working Class

The basic requirement for the creating of an extensive democratic front is the attainment of working class solidarity. It is the most important and critical objective at the present time, in both Finland and the international sphere. All economic, social policy, and political progress depend on the degree of strength of the workers' operational solidarity.

The solidarity of the working class is within realization, but that requires that the organizations representing the working class will draw the proper conclusions from the present situation and from the experiences of history, and that they will assume responsibility for the destiny of mankind.

This is the situation in Finland as well. If we cannot resolve this basic issue, then we cannot achieve decisive improvement in the position of the working class, or effect a change in economic policy that is more favorable to those who toil, nor changes in wage and social welfare matters, to say nothing about the realization of socialism. The Finnish working class has learned, particularly in the postwar years, how to carry out united action in practise, in the

trade union organizations, the sports organizations, and in the wage conflicts at the places of employment. The cause of unity is, at this time, a matter of much greater concern to the working class than it was a few years ago. A great tribute is due in this matter not only to the members of our party, who have worked sincerely and without prejudice in behalf of united action, but also to many workers of Social Democratic affiliation who, without fear of recriminations or pressures, have boldly placed the promoting of united action among the interests of those who toil.

#### The Communists and the Issue of United Action

Why do we Communists seek united worker action? Because it is what provides the means for attaining a decisive improvement in the lives of those who toil.

The rightist Social Democratic leaders frequently explain that, to us Communists, united action is only a catchword to oppose the Social Democratic Party, or merely a tactic by means of which we are seeking to inveigle workers of Social Democratic affiliation into the Communist lease. That, allegedly, is the reason the Social Democrats must fight both the capitalists and the Communists. In fact, the latter is given priority because allegedly the capitalists are harmless enemies.

#### Who Promotes the Cause of the Workers?

Of what benefit can the foregoing type of definition of tasks be to the workers? We believe that the workers, even those of Social Democratic affiliation, will ask that question all the more frequently. It certainly must be important to the workers of Social Democratic affiliation as well whether we attain better wages, whether the life of the workers improves, whether new social welfare benefits are realized, whether a shorter working day is attained, whether the trade union and workers' sport organizations are retained as worker organizations, whether peace is preserved, and the like.

Is it the Coalition Party, which the Social Democratic leaders during recent years have considered their closest companions in united action, that promotes these causes? What reason would the party of the owners and representatives of big capital have for the promoting of these causes? To the contrary, it must, and does, promote the policy of the big combines, which is opposed to the interest of the workers. If then, the workers of both Communist and Social Democratic

affiliation have common hopes and aspirations --- insofar at least as the issues of daily life are concerned --- why then cannot they work for them together, why cannot there be united action, or at least simultaneous action, between the parties as well, for the realization of these demands, so important to the workers? If every possibility is not used for the realization of these demands, there certainly will arise a feeling that no actual desire exists for the promotion and realization of these demands.

For our own part, we wish to do all we can to demonstrate openly that which we are seeking, for which reason we consider united action to be possible, as well as essential.

The solidarity of the working class provides also the key for developing the political life of Finland into a more democratic form than at present. Thus far, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party have collaborated with the extreme rightists, and have thus prevented all attempts for the establishing of a democratic collaboration administration. They have also expressed open opposition to the developing of good relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, and they have gone along with the rightist bourgeois warlike instigations.

This policy has been clearly shown to be damaging to the interests of the nation, as well as destructive to the Social Democratic Party itself.

#### The Places of Employment As a Key to United Action

Joint activities at the places of employment continue to be the basic form of united action, for the correcting of the inequities occurring there, or for the effecting of countrywide demands to restrict the power of big capital. Greater attention than heretofore must be given to the developing of united action and the will to struggle at those places of employment where women are in the majority and in which the working speeds are exceptionally rapid and the pay low.

In the trade union organizations we Communists are continuously prepared for united action for the building of the trade union organizations into firm fields of struggle, and, through the use of them, to realize the workers' demands for improvements in wages, the shortening of the working day, and like demands.

In the sphere of the TUL, united action has made it possible to prevent the disbanding of that sports union, and the sports activities of the workers have not only been able to preserve their place in the sports life of our country.

even under fire of the powerful attacks of the bourgeoisie and the rightist Social Democrats when even money pressures have been brought into play, but have also been able to strengthen and close their ranks. This kind of united action must be continued and strengthened. Results can be attained through united action also in the field of worker activity in the cooperatives.

In respect to mutual united action among the various parties, we are constantly prepared for that also in behalf of the issues that closely concern those who toil. In the Parliament, we have on several occasions proposed united action, in order that the majority of Parliament that was elected by the votes of workers might truly be able to discharge its duty and to carry out the great reforms demanded by the working class.

Much work is demanded of us Communists in the developing of united action. We must not stop merely with united action in behalf of the foremost economic and social issues, but we must all the more forcefully carry out also basic work of explanation to bring about greater awareness of the ideology of socialism. The explaining of this matter becomes all the easier the further the work of socialist construction progresses and the greater the advantages gained by the working classes of the socialist countries. When capitalism cannot guarantee the improvement of the standard of living, even the rightist Social Democratic leaders will find it difficult in the course of time to continue defending capitalism.

The Union of Workers and Peasants

The situation in the rural areas, and in general, is developing to the point where the conditions for the strengthening of the fighting alliance of workers and peasants is improved.

The difficulties of the small farmers have constantly increased. The increase in unemployment, in remote employment, the low wage rates, and the general aggravation of exploitation by big capital in the rural areas have aroused even greater masses of the small farmers to seek protection of their interest in a common struggle with the wage workers.

This trend has been promoted also by the weakening influence of the Agrarian Union among the small farmers and by the aggravation of the dissensions within that party. The extreme right in our country, which also has faithful supporters in the Agrarian Union, is viewing the developments in the rural areas with concern, particularly the shifting of small farmers into the ranks, and among the supporters, of our party and the People's Democratic movement. But the fact that a

certain section of the Agrarian Union leadership, albeit quite ineffectually, is opposing the attempts of the rightist forces to change the foreign policy of our country and is supporting the maintaining of friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, has caused the rightist front also to seek a weakening of the political influence of the Agrarian Union leadership, although the Agrarian Union leadership has both supported and carried out the big capital policy of increasing the misery of the people.

### Vennamo As the Tool of the Rightists

The rightist leadership of the Social Democratic Party cannot come to the assistance of the rightist quarters in the countryside, because it has ruined those possibilities through the openly hostile attitude it has displayed toward the working population of the rural areas, primarily the small farmers, and which attitude it still continues to display. But on the other hand, the rightist quarters have found a suitable tool, that fulfills their desires, in Vennamo, who has founded a small peasant party for that purpose. In a quite skillful manner, the leadership of this party is seeking to benefit from the dissatisfaction that the policy damaging to the interests of the small farmers, that the leadership of the Agrarian Union has practised, has created among the small farmers, and in which objective that leadership has gained some support. Its kinship with the rightist quarters is clearly evident from the support those quarters give it, from the slogans of its program borrowed from the rightists, and by its demagoguery in that it promises everything for everyone. In the hopes of gaining support, its program includes also a number of borrowed demands for the improving of the lot of the small farmers, which are demands in behalf of which our party, and the entire People's Democratic movement, have for several years waged a decisive struggle. But in the past, Vennamo has opposed these demands.

The Coalition Party is obviously supporting Vennamo in the hope that, when the Vennamo party appears in the elections, it will cause the People's Democrats and the Agrarian Union to lose votes.

But on the other hand, a part of the bourgeoisie fears that the exposing of the demagoguery of the Vennamo party will lead to results entirely contrary to those for which it was founded, namely, to the increasing of the influence of the Communists and the People's Democrats.

That cannot take place of its own accord, but by strengthening the explanatory work, the swindling tactics of the

Vennamo party can be exposed, and even those small farmers who have strayed into its company can be led to really defending their rights and interests.

### The Situation in the Agrarian Union

As regards the internal schism in the Agrarian Union, that arises, on the one hand, from the strengthening position of the rightist elements within the party, and on the other, from the dissatisfaction that the membership masses feel with the Agrarian Union policy that represents big capital and the large-scale farmers. The criticism of the rightists is centered primarily on foreign policy issues and on the fact that a certain part of the Agrarian Union is slightly more favorable in its attitude concerning friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. There are several indications that show that the desire for peace of the small farmers in the Agrarian Union is exerting influence toward the creating of a more favorable attitude toward peace by the leadership of the Agrarian Union, and in which certain of the Agrarian Union members of Parliament have joined. The foreign policy of the Agrarian Union has deviated in some degree from the foreign policy of the extreme rightists, and that has angered the rightists.

The foreign policy of the Agrarian Union has not, by any means, been consistent, which is indicated even by the fact that the Agrarian Union leadership participated in the Fagerholm rightist administration which to a notable degree deteriorated the relations with the Soviet Union. Even in current foreign policy issues the Agrarian Union is favoring the extreme rightists, as for instance, in the attitude toward the Outer Seven.

It is indicated also by the reservedness of the administration in regard to international proposals for peace, and in its hesitance in making forthright expressions in behalf of disarmament. The pressures that the extreme rightists exert both inside and outside of the party are powerful, and that is why there is always the danger that the leadership of the Agrarian Union will yield in foreign policy issues to the extreme rightists, as it already is constantly doing by promoting an economic policy furthering the interests of big capital, which are in opposition to the interests of the small farmers.

### The Fenno-Swedish Population

In recent years particularly, the rightist combine, which has the direct support of big capital and which obeys the orders of big capital, has attained an ever-increasingly



followed a consistent campaign to marshall youth into bourgeois youth organizations, and into organized youth work in the churches and the schools.

The achievements we have attained in our own work indicate that we have possibilities of greatly extending our influence among the youth, after further increasing the efficiency of our work.

The great majority of youth are properly of the working class, and it is only with the entire working class that it can improve its status. That is why the place of youth is in the worker occupational organizations, sports organizations, and in the People's Democratic organizations and our party.

In fact, we are certain that the youth will discover this proper place for it, because no other organizations, neither the bourgeois nor the religious, can point out to youth the bright prospects of the future. It has already been clearly shown that modern youth is not interested in the warlike rantings of the rightist quarters, and that basically it is peaceloving and can be drawn even into active work for the defense of peace.

#### In Behalf of Progressive Culture and the Intellectuals

A quality of standstill and of conservatism has become a characteristic feature of the cultural life of our country, which hamper all progress. This point of strain is caused by big capital which, by swallowing the lion's share of the national wealth, robs the cultural life of the needed material support. With the exception of the Communists and the People's Democrats, the policies of all the parties in the country have supported such a trend.

The most important and far-reaching struggle in cultural policy has been in the developing of the educational system. The demand for the reform of the educational system to the basis of a uniform educational principle in keeping with the spirit of democracy, that we were among the first to promote after the war, has won the support of the Social Democrats as well, and the personnel of the public schools, and of a considerable portion of public educators. But an obstinate reactionary front still opposes the realization of this demand, and that opposition must be overcome. Until such a time, our educational system is faced with a continuing struggle against accumulating difficulties.

Concurrently with the undemocratic nature of our educational system, that fateful state of affairs continues to worsen, in which the majority of our youth is left without

adequate occupational training or preparation, since the sparsely existing occupational training institutions can accommodate barely 50 percent of the applicants, and the pressure of large age groups is increasing the overcrowding.

There is an attempt to restrict technical training, and agricultural occupational training has been politicalized to serve the purposes of the bourgeoisie. The glaring shortage of space in the secondary schools also is closing the doors to a large proportion of the applicants, and the level of those schools has dropped alarmingly. The higher educational, particularly the technical, institutions are filled to overflowing, and when the students of the large postwar age groups begin to seek entry in 1965, only a half of them can be accommodated in the higher educational institutions. Since unemployment already exists in certain fields requiring higher education, the situation among the young intellectuals five years from now will be all the worse.

But our objectives are not limited to the externals of our educational system, they include also reforms in the content of the education and in the curricula. Our struggle against the qualities of intellectual limitation and reaction in the educational system has received recognition from many responsible educators. The teaching of history and of geography is done in a reactionary spirit, and very little time is allotted to the teaching of the natural sciences. The Russian language is taught hardly at all in our schools, although proficiency in it is essential for the developing of science and technology and for the developing of trade and cultural relations with our neighbor country.

The increasing progress in culture and in material well-being, as has already happened in the socialist part of the world, and also the signs of alleviation of international tensions that are now taking place, are creating new prospects for the intellectuals, who now find themselves in straits.

The fact is that already many representatives of science, the arts, and of other cultural pursuits, are openly or, many of them still only in their minds, admitting that in socialism lies the future of cultural development --- and their own future as well.

#### General Policy Struggles

The developing of the struggles of the various population groups for their own vital demands, and in behalf of democratic development in Finland, is one of our important tasks. The first clear vista in the development of the political power relationships in our country after the 1958 election will be provided by the communal elections that will take place in

October.

Those elections will turn out to be a mighty testing of strengths, for the rightists are seeking to nullify the success we had in the 1958 parliamentary election.

It is no secret that the Coalition Party has worked diligently for the effecting of election coalitions for this very purpose. It has had ill fortune in that since, for instance, the Agrarian Union has agreed to such election coalitions only in a few dozen localities. The National Party (Kansanpuolue) likewise has come out against them. These parties fear--- and not without reason --- that they will suffer loss of support among the masses if they ally themselves with a party of such ill repute as the Coalition Party. However, that does not mean that even these parties will do everything in their power to decrease our influence, and that they might even form election coalitions with the Coalition Party in some localities, and make agreements to coordinate their election propaganda against the Communists.

There can be no doubt that such general policy issues as the defense of peace, the standard of living of those who toil, unemployment and the like, will have a decisive bearing on the communal elections of next autumn.

Certain also is the fact that the various parties will draw conclusions on the basis of the results of the communal elections, in respect to their own short-term policies.

The communes are a part of the machinery of government, and that is why the compositions and work of the Parliament and the administration have a decisive effect on the communes. The social contradictions exist within the communal sphere just as they do in the sphere of the state, and the economic burdens are placed mainly on the shoulders of the low-income population. The monopoly combines unscrupulously exploit the communes for increasing their own profits.

It is quite clear that it is important for the party members and the SKDL members to agree among themselves in the communal constituted bodies and communal boards as to how they will promote the common causes. The comrades active in communal bodies likewise must maintain close contact with the organizations and the broad masses of workers. Without the support and the movement of the masses, results cannot be attained even in the communal sphere, and the danger of committing errors is much greater without close contact with the masses. The constituents have a right also to know how their representatives are conducting the affairs.

We hold firm positions in the communal elections of next autumn in that we have unfalteringly defended the interests of the communal people in both communal and state bodies, and in

the places of employment and the trade union organizations.

#### We Do Not Oppose Extraordinary Elections

In respect to the parliamentary election, the extreme rightists are now talking about an election to be held prior to the time of a regular election. In this, the objective of the rightists is to effect a decrease in the influence of the Communists and other peoples democrats in order to change domestic and foreign policy toward lines of the former warlike policy.

We have nothing against the holding of extraordinary elections. We have all along opposed lengthening of the period between elections for the reason that the people should have more frequent opportunity to express their will as to how the affairs of the country should be managed. We are of the opinion that the voice of the people should be heard, and that the people must be permitted, to a greater extent than heretofore, to influence the actions of the Parliament and other state institutions.

#### THE PARTY

We can carry out the foregoing tasks only on condition that our Communist party is strong and capable of struggle. And in fact, we can point out with joy and pride that greater unanimity prevails in our party than ever before. And for their part, the results we have attained in our work demonstrate the struggle capabilities of our party. The favorable developments that have taken place in our country have in large part been possible primarily because the members of our party have, without sparing themselves, worked boldly and in dedicated fashion in behalf of the interests of the workers, the small farmers, and other toiling segments of the population, and because they have explained the issues and helped the workers to realize their strength and their possibilities in fighting for their rights.

The fact that new members are joining the party shows that the influence of our party has grown; the slogans and objectives established by the party have been adopted by even broader masses than heretofore. By joining the party, the workers wish to work even more consistently for these objectives. The new members generally are of younger age, and frequently quite energetic and unprejudiced in their attitudes toward their co-workers and neighbors, which aids us in extending our work beyond former limits.

In the period between the congresses, studies and investigations were conducted in all of the party districts, which open new possibilities for better developing of the work, now that there is a better understanding of the situation in the places of employment. However, the operations and the establishing of place-of-work party organizations has proved to be extremely difficult. The reports of many of the district organizations tell of persisting timidity at the places of employment. That is understandable, of course, since the employers seek to use all means to segregate active Communists, and the fear of loss of employment is always greater among workers during periods of unemployment. However, it is reported also that in many places of employment the timidity has been over-come, which means also the emancipation from terrorism at the place of work and the crushing of the obstacles in the course of developing the work, of the place-of-employment organizations, in behalf of the common interests of the workers.

As regards the work of the area sections, the degree of activeness of their memberships has quite clearly improved. More members are attending meetings, and what is extremely important, issues of an ideological nature are discussed to a greater degree than formerly. In fact, a well organized party section meeting is also an excellent educational event.

The strength of the party organizations resides in the fact that there is joint deliberation of issues, joint discussion and decision concerning tasks, and joint carrying out of them by united effort of the workers at the places of employment and in the residential areas.

It has become clearly evident in the developing of mass movements that the work of leading, and of political directing and organizing, of our district committees have improved during the past period of operations. Much credit for that is due to our district secretaries. Their task is, no doubt, the most difficult of our party tasks. They are forced to make decisions in the most varied of issues and to lead the work under extremely difficult conditions, doing these perseveringly and with a spirit of sacrifice.

In recent times, there have been seen in the Coalition Party press and also in the rightist Social Democratic press hopeful dreams of internal weakening of our party, the tiring out of our membership, and the growth of opposition attitudes within our party. To these gentlemen we can say --- do not make erroneous evaluations of the situation, which you may later regret.

Our party is strong and uniform for the reason that its promises and slogans do not differ from its practical action and struggle, the sole purpose and objective of which is the

emancipating of the working class from oppression and exploitation, and the protecting of the possibilities of a livelihood for all those who toil. It is strong because the ideology that we represent --- Marxism-Leninism --- has scientifically most adequately defined the course of social progress.

### The Ideological Educational Work

Present times make exceedingly great demands on the ideological awareness of party members. The opposition is constantly bringing up arguments in behalf of capitalism and in opposition to socialism and the workers' movement, and the most varied of aspirations come forth in the practical work.

It is clearly evident that in those party organizations in which study is conducted on a regular basis, the operational results also are good. The more knowledge our members possess, so much the more bold they are in their activities and in making their views known. On the other hand, it is clear also that we do not study for the mere sake of studying. The knowledge that is gained from study must be joined with the experience gained in practical work.

Greater vigor than ordinarily has been displayed in the study activities during this year and last year. One of the spurs arousing this vigor has been the struggle concerning the party honor banner, but the revival of interest in study has been influenced also by the new curricula and new textbooks, such as the *Tyovaenluokan Maailmankatsomus* (Philosophy of the Working Class), *Kipinasta Tuli Syttyi* (The Fire Ignited from A Spark), and the *Suomen Vanhan Tyovaenpuolueen Historia* (History of the Old Finnish Workers' Party).

The new experience gained during the past term of study concerns the courses the party has organized for youth. These are attended by young people who are more receptive to study, thus producing better results.

In our planning of the general outlines for our educational work for the next three-year period, we should give special attention to the study of those problems which aid the party members and the workers to see the necessity of socialist reforms. There also is constant demand for the explaining of the nature and the operational principles of our party, and for explanation of the basis and legality of united action of the workers. During the electioneering periods of the communal, presidential, and national elections that will take place in the coming three-year period, we can, by means of the educational work, throw light on many issues that concern the extending of democracy, which at the same time are of assistance in imparting an awareness of the significance

of these elections.

### The Ideological Struggle

An extremely important factor in the creating of an extensive democratic front, in the arousing of the masses into struggle against big capital, and in the segregating of the extreme rightists, is the extent to which we succeed in explaining to the masses the significance of our slogans, the necessity of struggle, and the ideologies of peace and socialism, as well as concepts of Marxism-Leninism. Of important significance also is the extent to which we are able to expose the various "theories" and allegations of the bourgeoisie and the rightist Social Democrats. Their purpose is, of course, the praising of capitalist society, the depreciating of our party and the cause of socialism, and the preventing and allaying of the struggle of the workers and others who toil.

In previous years it was necessary for us to counter, to a greater extent than currently, such arguments as that struggle for wage increases is useless since they bring about inflation or are immediately reflected in price increases. The stabilization of the economy through economic sacrifices, and a policy to cause disorganization among the Communists, also were arguments that recurred.

An increasingly smaller amount of credence is currently accorded to such arguments, and the various parties --- while of course defaming the FCP, the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries, which defamation has intensified during very recent months --- are concentrating their efforts to a large extent to proving that capitalism offers the most advantageous social system --- at least in the improved form --- and that only under capitalism can democracy and freedom be preserved. The same argument is used in slightly different form by the various parties, but the actual content is the same.

The Coalition Party has adopted for its catchword "people's capitalism," that was invented in the USA.

According to the program of the Coalition Party, "people's" capitalism" will be achieved merely by selling shares to the workers, shares having a nominal price so low that even the workers can afford to buy them. It is alleged that by buying these "people's shares" even the workers will turn into owners, and thus the conflicts will disappear. This "people's capitalism" is actually only a variation of the untested theory proposed by Bernstein already 70 years ago, and which is impossible even as an experimental thought.

Only a very small part of the working class has any possibilities of buying only even a few shares, to say nothing of establishing their own industrial facilities. Even more preposterous is the assumption that workers have money to invest in some stock market funds, or even factories, through which influence can be exerted only in the field of industry.

It is equally clear that the owning of a few shares will not emancipate a worker from exploitation. He will still be forced, as before, to sell his labor. Nor will he have any voice in the management of the enterprise. When a worker wishes to improve his status, it is still necessary for him to fight for an increase in his wages.

In fact, the Agrarian Unionists have seen it most befitting to seek for a social system that is neither capitalism nor socialism. We are told that we have already practically attained such a system, and if the present administration is granted more time, it will be realized, once and for all. Capitalism certainly must have lost its reputation when no one any longer wishes to own up to it.

#### Rightist Social Democratic Theories

As our mass educational activity strengthens, we shall have to expose also the rightist Social Democratic "theories" that are used to support the monopoly capitalists. They claim that capitalism has changed, that the class conflicts have disappeared, and that all the prerequisites for the establishing of the welfare state are currently in existence, if we only observe thriftiness, relinquish politics for the sake of interests, and invest more capital in certain fields than is currently being done. The exposing of these theories is necessary, if for no reason other than the fact that they are being taught in Social Democratic workers' clubs, the courses and clubs of the civic union, the workers' institutes, and even in the schools and courses of the SAK and other trade union federations, where most of the students consist of workers and small farmers.

The Social Democratic leaders explain, first of all, that they do approve of socialism, but not of the kind of socialism that is being carried out in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is alleged that such socialism is not suited to Finland. In answer to this question, the workers have asked why a constantly improving standard of living is not suited to Finnish workers, nor improved wages, pensions, and other social benefits, as well as low



taxes that in the near future will be eliminated entirely, a shorter working day, and the like, all of which are characteristic features of the socialist countries.

Might it really be that socialism actually is suitable to the workers and others who toil, but that it is not suited to the devices of the employer capitalists, and therefore must be explained away as not being suitable to Finland?

The rightist Social Democratic leaders are trying to promote the belief that "the most glaring and unjust features of capitalism have disappeared, and what is involved is an entirely new type of society," the welfare state. They say that the power that formerly was in the hands of the private owners of capital has shifted greatly, and is still shifting, to the management class, which consists of paid directors and highly salaried executive officers.

It is quite true that the part played in industry by the capitalists has changed. The big capitalists frequently no longer participate directly in the management of industry. They have delegated that function to salaried management personnel. But that is only an indication of the parasitic nature of modern monopoly capitalism, and does not mean the sharing of power, or the disappearing of capitalist private ownership or of its exploitive nature.

Untenable also are the arguments that many socialistic features exist in the present economic system, some of which allegedly are a more uniform distribution of the national income, increased enterprise activities on the part of the state, and the changing of social thought more into the lines of socialism.

The facts, however, tell a different story. Exploitation and the private ownership of the means of production are rampant. The social improvements that the working class has attained through struggle do not eliminate the class nature of the capitalist system. And, as was pointed out in the discussion of the party--- the contradictions between the monopoly capitalists and the intermediate segments of the working class and of all those who toil, have increased.

Another of the prime issues in the ideological struggle involves freedom and democracy. In Finland, it is mainly the Coalition Party that rides that horse in the pretense of being the champion knight and herald of freedom.

That is such a mockery that even many of the bourgeois newspapers have recalled the Coalition Party policy of the 1930's when all those who dared oppose the objectives of the reactionaries were either defamed or shipped to prison camps, and when the Coalition Party was urging the use of both long and short weapons, even against the constituted government if it

would not dance adequately to the tune of the Coalition Party.

Dear Comrades!

The task before this congress is to set the course for the next three-year period. Through joint effort we certainly will discover the common tasks, slogans, and procedures through which we can develop our work and promote the victory of the cause of our working class, the cause of all our working people. In defining our tasks, we will use the Marxist-Leninist theory as our guide, the correctness of which has been demonstrated by the developments in the international sphere, as well as in our own country. We have the assistance also of the rich experiences of the Communist parties of other countries, above all, of that of the first socialist country --- the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We do not imagine that the course forward is already paved smooth for us in order to proceed from victory to victory. We Communists know the powerful forces that even in our country promote the causes of reaction and of big capital, and how hard are the struggles that precede each improvement in the living conditions of our people and in each step forward in the direction of greater democracy.

But there is no return to reactionism in our land, and the influence of the rightists is constantly on the wane. The guarantee for that is our party that is capable of struggle, and its membership unconditionally loyal to the cause of the working class. The guarantees of that are the other democratic organizations that constantly strengthen, the increasing solidarity of the working class, and the constantly extending front of peace and democracy, all of which are aroused to enthusiasm by the great victories of the socialist countries and of the international workers' movement.

Let the reactionaries malign our party in whatever may they wish, but there is no force that can alienate it from the working masses of our country, whose hopes and aspirations it promotes and represents. It has not been possible to accomplish that alienation even during the years of the worse kind of terrorism and persecution, and it has even less possibility of success now when our party operates publicly, in the sight of everyone. Every act and deed of our party serve the fortunes and the safety of our country.

Mankind is at a critical point in development in respect not only to social developments, but also in respect to scientific and technological development. Our generation is in that fortunate situation in which we can participate in the carrying out, and in the experiencing, of a great change that will free mankind for all time from the terrors of war,

that will put an end to exploitation, oppression and force,  
and which will give humanity an opportunity to live a truly  
free and fortunate life.

[End Pessi speech]

They Have Not Been Able to Isolate Our

Party From the People

Until only a short time ago, the imperialists were promoting their "cold war" and practicing their "brink of war" policy, and carrying out armed attacks in various remote parts of the world. The danger of the outbreak of a third world conflagration loomed constantly before mankind.

Prospects currently are much brighter. The fomenters of the "cold war" and the promoters of "power politics" have suffered serious setbacks. A change toward the alleviation of tension has occurred in the international situation.

Several factors have influenced the creation of the new situation, the most decisive of which has been the growth and prestige of the socialist world system and the policy of peace that it has followed. The powerful development of the national economies of the socialist countries and particularly the tremendous advances of the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology, and in the conquering of outer space, have deeply shaken the faith of the imperialists in the superiority of their economies and their military strengths.

The change in the situation has been influenced also to a notable degree by the increasing influence in international politics of the countries liberated from the colonial oppression of the imperialists and by the influence of the other countries that promote peace. The activities of the peace movement consisting of extensive population masses has materially influenced the decreasing of the danger of war.

However, the conclusion that peace has conclusively been assured cannot be drawn from this favorable turn of events. Imperialism has not stopped existing, nor has the character of it changed. The proponents of power politics still occupy powerful positions, and they are working systematically to prevent the realization of a general and complete disarmament and the resolving of contentions international issues by peaceful means. The preparations for a third world war still continue.

The only conclusion that can properly be drawn concerning the situation is that the nations must increase their vigilance, strengthen their struggle for peace, and act in such a way that persons who might let loose the forces of war will not gain positions of authority in governments.

An example of this that must be watched with caution is West Germany, the policy of whose leaders presents a serious threat to peace in Europe, and to the peace of the entire world. Frenzied preparations for war, the suppression of civil rights,

and the demands for the "extension of living space" that are becoming all the more vociferous, are a reminder of German militarism of the past and they obligate the nations to great vigilance for the preventing of the impending disaster.

This concerns also the Finnish people who suffered heavy losses as a result of the collaboration between the ruling authorities of our country with Hitler. The saber-rattlings of the West German militarists and the demands for increased influence in northern Europe arouse ill premonitions among our people and serve to drive them into active measures for the preservation of peace.

The great majority of our nation supports the principles of peaceful coexistence which have been proclaimed through the concluding of the Friendship and Mutual Assistance Pact between Finland and the Soviet Union. The principles contained in the pact have been successfully applied in the economic and cultural relations between our countries, from which great benefits have accrued to our country and nation.

The rightist grouping, though few in number, and which is supported mainly by the monopolies of the wood processing industry, is seeking to change this officially adopted foreign policy into a policy of adventure opposed to the interests of our nation and country. Those are the aims of the plans for the establishing of a so-called broadly based administration and for joining Finland with the Western closed markets.

The establishing of a rightist administration would not mean merely the endangering of peaceful development in our country, but also the restriction of the democratic and socialistic rights of the working people and a lowering of the standard of living. That is what the extreme rightist quarters mean when they demand a return to the "normal" pre-war conditions.

Thus far it has been possible to repulse the worse attacks of the reactionary quarters in their attempts to change the course of foreign policy and to restrict democracy. In the future, the rightist grouping will have even less possibility of carrying out its objectives. The interests of the big capital quarters have become even more categorically opposed to the interests and aspirations of the great majority of our nation. That improves the possibilities of developing collaboration on a more extensive basis for the isolating of the extreme rightists, the limiting of the power of big capital, and for achieving of social and political changes that extend to greater depth. The changes that have taken place in the international situation will have their effect in promoting the development of domestic policy in the direction indicated in the foregoing.

The reactionary forces have not even yet found the strength to achieve their objective of crushing the Communist movement. While it is quite true that they have succeeded in isolating the Communists from the administration, they have not succeeded in isolating us from the people or the political life of the country.

One of the proofs of that is the notable victory the Communists and the Social Democrats won in the last parliamentary election. The greatest problem of the reactionary circles is, and will continue to be, the continued growth of Communist influence in our country. The greatest problem of our party, on the other hand, is how it might best comprehend the present situation and the nature of developments in the near future, and how it might be able in the proper way to lead the struggle of the workers in behalf of peace, democracy, better living conditions, and in behalf of socialism.

Deficiencies and weaknesses still exist in the activities of our party, and we must work seriously for their elimination. The achievements of the past period of operations demonstrate, however, that the capability for struggle by our party has improved, and that the confidence of those who toil has increased toward our party. That is the result of the meritorious work that the members of our party have done in explaining to the workers complex political issues and in assisting and guiding them into mass activity in behalf of their interests and rights. In observing the will of the previous congress, the party has worked to raise the ideological level of its membership and to create greater awareness of the principles of Marxism-Leninism outside of the party. Vigorous activity and study have forged our party into a unified organization of struggle.

On April 22 of this year, 90 years will have elapsed since the birth of V. I. Lenin, that great theoretician of Marxism and leader of the Communist movement and honored teacher and friend of all progressive mankind.

The anniversary of his birth will be observed as a great celebration for the victory of the ideologies of the brotherhood of nations, of peace, and of socialism. In the present situation, when the ideologies of socialism are progressing from victory to victory, and when lasting peace is within our grasp, we can comprehend all the more clearly the mighty significance that the ideologies of international worker solidarity and the brotherhood of nations have in the shaping of the history of mankind. Today and in the near future, and perhaps to a greater extent than ever before, the Communist parties and the worker's parties, and all the nations of the world,

yearn for and need mutual collaboration and one another's support.

Our party is grateful for the demonstrations of brotherly solidarity that it has received both during the long and bleak period of reaction and later when balmy winds are blowing our way. For its part, our party feels itself to be an inalienable part of the international Communist movement, and it seeks to make its own contribution to the carrying out of the common tasks.

# 5143

[End Aaltonen speech]

## Problems of the Fifth Congress

of the (Communist-Controlled) General Confederation  
of Italian Labor (CGIL).

The editors of Rinascita invited comrades Agostino Novella, Fernando Santi, Vittorio Foa, Luciano Romagnoli, and Rinaldo Scheda to a "round Table" on the topics of the Fifth Congress of the CGIL / Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro- Italian General Confederation of Labor / which will be held in Milan at the beginning of April. We are publishing the shorthand notes of conversation which took place on March 4.

**RINASCITA:** First of all we thank you on behalf of the management and the editors of Rinascita for this conversation. Your Congress is of great interest not only because of the extent of the struggles waged in recent years and because of the urgency of the objectives that are proposed, but also because of the perplexity in working them out, to which the trade union topics have been added. And we immediately broach the subject: What is the central problem that will be discussed at the Congress?

**NOVELLA:** Actually there is no single central problem even if, indeed, there is one which summarizes them all: the problem of the struggle and of trade union action for the achievement of a higher, more civilized and modern standard of living. To this two fundamental questions on demands are connected: action for increases in wages and action for an increase in jobs. It is a point of extreme importance because we overcome in this way a phase in which both problems, wages and jobs, were put in a rather good position in the trade union movement. In a good position, not in a contradictory one. The CGIL has never accepted the existence of a contradiction between the struggle for wage increases and the struggle for more jobs; we have always maintained that the one contributes to the other. In this fifth congress, however, we shall put the two questions in a more intimately connected manner. We are replying thus in a new way, I would say, to certain positions taken by the Confederation of Industry (trade union) as well as by the government and the controlling political class, according to which a policy of creating more jobs would be in conflict with a policy of higher wages. We maintain, on the contrary, that a policy of higher wages makes for a policy of creating more jobs and of economic development; thus as a policy of creating more jobs and of economic development it is an essential element



for increase in the national income and therefore also, in this connection, for higher wages.

RINASCITA: You stress the "form" character of this Congress of yours, Why?

NOVELLA: Because we want to sanction, to complete and to better define a process of reform which began many years ago with the fourth congress, when our Di-Vittoris was still with us. It is a matter of a reform which assails the immediate policy of demands, the policy of economic development - because of the very close connection that we are establishing between immediate claims and structural reforms - questions which refer to the new functions of the trade union in a democratic society as well as questions of organization; it touches, that is, all aspects of the CGIL's activities. It is based on a close and watchful consideration of developments in the economic and social situation of the country, in the policy of property owners and of the government, in the process of monopolistic concentration which has been developing in recent years, with its international aspects - in particular in relation to the European Common Market - and hence in the reflections that all this has outside and inside the factory.

RINASCITA: Exactly what are the new points which you intend to stress?

NOVELLA: First of all there are the relations with determining productive groups, like handicraft, small industry, a subject we want to debate at length at the Congress, and it will be the first time that we have done it. Then there are the transformations which modernization of the productive process has determined in work ratios. Introduction of new techniques has appreciably transformed - especially in the more modern factories, but to some extent everywhere - work ratios, with respect to rates, qualifications, work schedule, the organics, and the serious problem of the practicability of "technological" dismissals. Problems then arise concerning the organization. The increase in the clerical category, especially in industry, poses some serious ones. From the elaboration of the claims topics arises the requirement for a greater articulation of our activity which should concentrate on the productive sectors. This requirement for articulation, which has its origin primarily on grounds concerning demands in trade union action and policy, is transferred to the level of organization in the sense that we wish to give greater power and autonomy to trades' organizations.

we are urging these organizations to be more articulate from now on at the sector level, and we are finally attaching great importance to the activities of the trade union in the factory as regards one of the newest and most important claims of Italian workers, which is integrative negotiation at the business level.

SCHEDA: I should like to add some observations to the things Novella has said on the positive aspects as well as on some limits of the congressional debate. We have had and are having intense activity with congressional assemblies at the factory level, which is a relatively new fact not because there has not been some basic activity, in the preparation of preceeding congresses, in the development of the debate on platforms which then were under discussion, but because this time there was a systematic plan on the part of the trades' organizations for the convocation of basic assemblies, in order to develop an initiative from the base, which is the fundamental condition for bringing an articulate trade union policy to a happy conclusion. And today, there is no longer a contraposition between the general struggle and business struggles, a contraposition which we often had, in years past, when impetus was begun to be given to an articulate trade union policy. There is still a limit, however, in a narrow concentration to policy concerning demands at the business level, through which the more simple claims are seen which have greater power of suggestion (production awards, etc.), while the effort of locating the new elements which have come in succession in the life of the factory is less. If we do not succeed in going ahead along this line we run the risk of causing a skidding at the business level where the owner can beat us with his paternalistic initiative.

Another observation: while we carry forward a policy that needs for its realization a very strong autonomous capability on the part of the workers at the base level, our trade union structures, our cadres are striving to be considered equal. For this reason Novella insists - and he does well to do so - on the need for carrying forward the articulate structure at the trades' level: and the fundamental problem that we must face in this field is the trade union in the firm. Having reinforced the trades category trade unions at their highest point is certainly an important fact, and the convocation of the congress will permit us to reinforce ultimately the management of national trades category federations and of trade unions in the provinces; but, certainly, the fact that we are not succeeding in touching many places of work in the preparation of this congress,

because we are not present there or our presence is not consistent, is one of the reasons for a certain disequilibrium between diligence in working matters out at the top levels and responsibility for initiative at the base. Hence the importance of the problem of the trade union in the firm, which in its turn assails questions of trade union proselytism and forcefully raises the necessity for formation of new cadres. Groups of militants which in the first movement of our trade union life completed a positive task in firms, today are working hard to remain ahead in carrying forward this articulate policy. Thus, there is a problem of reform, but there is a problem of the presence in new forms of the trade unions in factories where our presence is insufficient: and they are newly built factories as well as factories which have a long history, where, however, a reform of the composition of the guilds has been decided on in the last ten years. For this reason we think that it is an important task of the Fifth Congress to give impetus to a policy of cadres which do not trust to spontaneity but tend to organize the work of formation.

RINASCITA: Is the problem which is presented in newly built factories a problem that concerns the CGIL or other trade union organizations also?

SCHEDA: I assert that the problem is presented by all trade union organizations; that also the objective difficulties that we are reporting are multiplied by the other trade union organizations. The CISL / Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori - Italian Confederation of Workers' Union /, for example, is going through a very acute crisis under this profile. The experience of the last two years has shown that the reinforcement of contractual power requires cadres for the CISL and the UIL / Unione Italiana del Lavoro - Italian Labor Union / also, which are freer in taking initiatives, more adequate to the new requirements and which are not slaves to the orientation which prevailed in the past in the policy of these organizations on the company level.

ROMAGNOLI: I should like to add that if it is true that our task of reform also causes internal contradictions in the CGIL, with the difficulties indicated by Scheda, it is also true that these difficulties are symptoms of a positive process. Our task of renovation has its origin in an effort set in motion by the fourth congress and has also had its fundamental stages; those which we called the labor recovery, first, and the labor revolt of the CGIL later, in 1957-59.

Moments of rather serious zeal have matched this effort in the working out of the political and trade union platform, like the national conference of industrial trade unions at Brescia and that of the agriculture trade unions at Arezzo. Now it is just this recovery and the ensuing trade union revolt that have made the aims of the reform under new conditions of the whole mature. This new dimension of confederate policy, on the contents of which Novella spoke, came to maturity not only through a process of intellectual elaboration, but matured through a process of great labor struggles.

I should like to say something else on the significance which the great national struggles of '59 have had, and on an important point of these great struggles. In these struggles two quite important things have been accomplished: a recomposition of the deep lacerations which the trade union split had caused, which however, in itself still does not mean unity of the working class and of the workers; and, more important still, a bridging of the gap - although at the level of demands which are the lowest common denominator of labor demands, those of the national contract - between the old generation, the middle generation (which entered the factory during the war of Liberation or immediately afterwards) and the generations which entered the factory in the last 7-8 years. We know that a deep split exists between the two generations, a split which had its objective and subjective causes; objective causes, because of the profound changes which have come in succession in technological organization and hence in the organization of work in the factories: subjective ones, because the ideal and political elements which had caused the great working class movement to ferment in the struggle for Liberation, first of all and immediately afterwards, were changed. In the 1959 struggles we accomplished this bridging of the gap. Is it definitive? In our judgement it is not definitive; we must go ahead to make it definitive: look at the zeal that we put into the preparation of the Congress, in the deepening of the discussions of labor conditions and of conditions of the employees. Another element in the bridging of the gap is the relationship between the employee and the worker. Here the split was profound: participation of the employees in the life of the trade union was almost nonexistent; but now we have a large participation of employees in the struggles. This too is a new fact which concerns all the trade unions and not only the CGIL; like the other one, it has its origin on the basis of a deep push for demands and of the great struggles which took place in 1959, and hence in the maturing of a widespread anti-capitalistic conscience among the great working masses, old and new, and among the masses of employees.

We start from this point today to measure the possibilities of a profound reform of the CGIL, for which, too, the infernal contradictions of which Scheda spoke between the line of trade union policy of the CGIL on the one hand and the limits that we still have (limits of trade union decentralization, of the effective presence of trade union forces in the factories, of the formation of the cadre and of the trade union activist, which normally is not related to the working generation, of the formation of employee cadres, etc. ), all these contradictions become, in a certain sense, more dramatic in relation to a new situation, but the possibility of overcoming them rapidly is presented to us at the same time, just because this is the point of departure.

### The Significance of the Reform

FOA: There is something to be added about the significance of the reform. Reform of the trade union, reinforcement of its structure, potentiality of its efficiency in negotiation are proper things but are not enough to characterize the objectives for which we work. In several capitalistic countries we have very efficient trade unions, technically very well equipped, with a capacity to be familiar with very advanced business problems; but this does not cancel the reform requirement for a trade union, in Italy, today. The reform is capable of giving the trade union not only the objective of satisfying the claims that it makes, but also of realizing, through the satisfaction of its claims, a permanent increase in its power in society. In other words, it is not enough for us to achieve certain objectives (wage increases, improvement of contract standards, improvement in the job level) if the development of such claim actions does not really cut into those which are the fundamental difficulties causing disequilibria in Italian society; if in some way the trade union does not acquire greater strength to intervene as regards fundamental choices which daily are offered and are daily resolved in Italian society. Otherwise, if we were to see as the principal objective of the trade union movement the fulfillment of definitive accomplishments in the field of wages and standards, the trade union could indeed be a good contractual agent, but always within the limits set by the choices of power groups, and hence in a subordinate position. This broader perspective is not the outcome of an intellectual innovation of the central organs but the development of a collective consciousness which is maturing through the imposing struggles of recent times and constitutes, in my judgement, the most significant element of the Congress. We are indeed struggling for wage increases, but

above all in order to be stronger tomorrow, in order to be in condition to oppose groups which actually decide the conditions of life. We wish to be fully autonomous, and a condition of this autonomy is the development of immediate claims without which no force can be explained with clarity of objectives. Also because it seems to me that we need efficient trade unions, technically equipped trade unions, more and more up-to-date cadres cognizant of work problems; but at the same time we need the trade union cadre to be totally conscious of the general implications of its struggle and its action.

NOVELLA: Finally, I would say, we are tending towards the creation of a modern trade union, which will meet the requirements arising from the modernity of the working class, of a class which, as Foa rightly says, does not only put itself on a claims plane, limited to the solution of daily problems, but in an objective manner is brought to pose problems which, starting with the factory, radically affect existing social relations in the national society.

RINISCITA: Can you say then that there are the same structures in our country to make this characterization of the trade union more urgent, as regards other capitalistic societies?

NOVELLA: Perhaps, and especially when one considers that in many respects we have lagged behind. In other capitalistic countries the trade union has greater contractual power than we have. Whether afterwards this power is utilized well or badly, that is to say, if it is carried forward with the vision of the new functions which the laboring classes have in modern society, is another question. As far as contractual power is concerned, however, we are further behind; we have remained under the pre-facist conditions of democratic society which is in its aggregate more backward than French and English society. And it is also clear that the problem of the modern trade union is perhaps put with more force in our country because in large cities like Milan, Turin, Genoa, the development of certain situations has been more rapid in this last decade. The rapidity with which determining phenomena have been developed has posed the problem of relations within the factories more acutely. Likewise, the process of modernizing industry has been very rapid in our country in the past ten years, in comparison with what has happened in other capitalistic countries. Thus in agriculture: the process is going at such a rapid rate that some questions of a contractual character and of getting the trade unions into a new type of contract are posed more violently and sharply than happens in France, in England, or in other countries. All this, in short,

influenced by the clear-cut disequilibrium in Italy between a North which, from the industrial and agricultural viewpoint is highly developed, and a South with a backward situation, through which some modern and new demands of the working class become intermingled with traditional demands of the popular movement, of the peasant movement, of the workers' movement.

RINASCITA: Can you say that there are the very conditions of backwardness which oblige the trade union to make incisions in the structure of society?

NOVELLA: The conditions of backwardness and the rapid development of a new and modern situation. The two elements act simultaneously.

ROMAGNOLI: The function of which Foa was speaking is the permanent function of the trade union in any capitalistic society. In Italy it takes on a peculiar content because of the extreme contradictory nature of the social-economic development of the country; but the necessity for the trade union to interpret not only all the problems of the work ratio, but those of the ordering of society, faces all trade unions of capitalistic countries. It is for this reason that - in relation to the existence of the MEC / Mercato Europeo Comune - European Common Market - and observing a problematical municipality of the working class and of the workers of western Europe - the CGIL, in recent years, has been preoccupied with effecting an accord with other European trade union organizations, independently of their affiliation. The accord has been sought by us first of all on some matters concerning demands and on the requirement for an autonomy of the labor trade unions with respect to the position of power of the dominant groups present in the society.

RINASCITA: In the "topics" of the CGIL the new function of the trade union in Italian social life is stressed. A precise statement on this point is of interest to us.

SCHEDA: The demand for the new position that we are making for the trade unions in Italian social life is a consequence of the greater power of the working class that we intend to achieve. In fact, this demand was not advanced by us as a pretext to ask for special privileges for the trade union organizations and, still less, to transfer to the State tasks of functions which are strictly the business of the trade unions themselves. What we ask is the recognition of the function of the trade union in a modern democratic society

and, at the same time, the liquidation of the policy of the public powers in support of proprietary interests and of a policy of scission in the trade union movement. We ask, consequently, an effective, active policy on the part of the democratic State in support of liberty, autonomy and hence of contractual power of the trade union. If we wish the Constitution to be wholly put into effect, if we wish to guarantee the development of democracy towards an even higher form, one of the basic conditions is to put the trade union in a position to oppose in a valid manner the action of large capitalistic groups and for that reason to fully acquit itself of its function in the present society.

The CGIL has always maintained and continues to maintain that participation of the workers and their organizations in all the manifestations of social life constitutes the principal stimulus for the advance of civilized life. We have witnessed in Italy, however, over the last 10-12 years, a constant growth of pressures and of the power of monopolistic groups, and of their negative consequences on the social order, on the structures, on the very ordering of the life of the country, on workers' conditions. The intervention of the State and its political choices, have represented a path over which large economic groups have been able to exert a definite pressure, an influence which has gone from the guiding rules of political economy to the alteration of democratic relations which must regulate the life of the country. In comparisons of the trade union organizations, in recent years, public power has assumed an attitude of intolerance; their presence has been underplayed; there has not been a shadow of recognition of their function even in fields closely connected with workers' conditions.

It is not a matter then of only achieving recognition of the function and the guardianship capability of the trade union in comparisons of workers' contractual power, but of the necessity for the trade unions to be in a position to exercise an active and systematic presence at all levels of social life, in all economic choices and those connected with the requirements of development. It is enough to point out the problem of professional instruction and the formation of new levies of specialized and qualified workers; the question of appointment; the problem of the stability of the employee; the administration of insurance institutions (social insurance, etc.) where today the trade union organizations are hardly tolerated and are represented by sparse minorities. It seems to me, therefore, that attributing this function to the trade union, a sum total of results are obtained that the struggles waged in recent years have now



brought to maturity. First of all the guarantee that the trade union can execute completely its basic task, that is, the capacity for full, complete guardianship of the workers.

Art. 39 of the Constitution

RINASCITA: How do you judge, under this profile, the ratification of the law erga omnes?

SCHEDA: The ratification of the law erga omnes for the determination of contractual minimums is an important stage for the reinforcement of the guardianship capacity of the trade union, because it recognizes in it a basic function, namely that of determining minimums for the workers. The question of art. 39 remains open on which account we ask for a definitive regulation; it will permit the trade union organization to get into the life of the country better and to guarantee a unified front in negotiations. It is irrefutable however that our demands exceed the limits of art. 39 in order to attack in its totality the problem of the presence of the trade union at all the levels where choices are exercised in the matter of economic development.

SANTI: I should like to make it very clear that when we ask for recognition of the trade union's function in our society, we are not asking the State for special privileges and hence paternalistic or in whatever manner corporative solutions. We start with the principle that the ordering of our State is defined by the Constitution which recognizes special rights for workers and expresses the programmatic lines for the achievement of a more complete democracy, which would not be only formal. In asking that the function of the trade union be fully recognized, we are asking for the realization of the constitution. For this reason we maintain that it is the duty of the State, and of public administration in general to favor the development of the function and the contractual power of the trade union, at all levels. The Constitution, on the other hand, fixes beforehand definite social goals which coincide for the most part with the very goals of the trade union, like the constant improvement of the workers' living conditions. Now because the trade union can acquit itself of this function, which is a function of competition, of an irreplaceable contribution to the building of a democratic society, it is necessary that it be able to explain its activities. We ask the State therefore to set itself the task of assuring the free exercise of trade union rights. Everything that is done by the State to prevent this free

exercise of trade union rights. Everything that is done by the State to prevent this free exercise of trade union rights, trade union activity, its contractual power, is an antidemocratic act and goes against constitutional dictate. The trade union, for the interests it represents, for its nature and for its goals which it proposes, is a naturally democratic organism in a society that wishes to be democratic. Its function must therefore be completely recognized

RINASCITA: We have spoken, during this session, of a particular counter offensive of the economic right as regards art. 39. At Milan, recently, with the opening of the judiciary year there was an attempt at serious, complex interpretation of art. 39 in the direction of a limitation of the trade unions liberty. How does the CGIL appraise these episodes?

SANTI: The phenomenon is a part of the tendency to display superior power on the part of economic and political forces that really wish to prevent the trade union's free expression of its will and strength. We maintain that the application of art. 39 of the Constitution is a necessity that we cannot be absolutely ignorant of: It is not at all against trade union liberty, which finds its reconfirmation, even a literal one, in the first sentence of art. 39 itself. Why is the re-resistance to its application? Because art. 39, still recognizing the hypothesis of trade union plurality, dictates norms for unitary and proportional representation of the trade unions in the negotiation for collective work agreements, which are coming to have the force of law. To refuse to apply art. 39 of the Constitution means leaving the door wide open to contractual separation, i.e. to separate negotiation. We reaffirm that art. 39 is right and necessary regulation in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, in order to create, legally, the bases for a unitary representation of the workers' trade unions in discussion and in concluding collective negotiations.

NOVELLA: On this point we must be very exact because there are those who interpret our position tendentiously. For example, the CISL has lately attributed to us the intention of giving the trade union a public function in all fields, of tending therefore to give it the same position of juridical recognition which the fascist trade unions had. We do not go along this line at all: rather, we are opposed to it since at this moment it is supported by the CISNAL /Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Nazionali Lavoratori - Italian Confederation of National Workers' Unions/ which is of fascist inspiration. We wish to attribute a public function to the trade union in a manner limited to the basic

question for which the trade union exists, namely negotiation. Trade union liberty and negotiation, because art. 39 clearly sanctions the principle of liberty and establishes a unitary condition of negotiation and a proportion of representation such that the maximum power which can be had under the outline of legislative recognition can be given effectively to the trade union. This in the frame-work of a general regulation, which is a private right as far as the sum total of the trade union's activities is concerned. It seems important to us to make the matter very clear because the interpretation used by the Confederation of Industry is that we are putting an end to agreeing to the limitation of trade union liberties. The CISL still goes back to the same argument: the enactment of art. 39 would guarantee the unity of negotiations through a unity and a proportionality of representation, but it would not guarantee freedom of negotiations because it would be an obstacle to the free initiative of each trade union. Now we think that freedom of initiative of the individual trade union is widely conditioned by the degree of general contractual power recognized in all trade unions; the autonomous initiative of each trade union will be so much greater the more the position of the trade unions is reinforced in its aggregate and the more trade union contractual power, understood in its general sense and in its totality, is sanctioned. It is just this that will guarantee the initiative of the individual trade union. On the other hand, whenever trade union power was attacked, continuously menaced, and limited by the economic power of management, individual initiative would leave all confines of it. In short, the trade union is tolerated in Italy; tolerated by the government and tolerated by the Confederation of Industry. We are accepted and restricted; the trade union is committed to its initiative, to the action of the workers, to the explanation of all its legal possibilities. Through art. 39 and the realization of all the other claims, we must get out of this situation of tolerance in order to have full recognition of trade union rights and of the function of the trade union in society.

Trade Union and parties.

RINASCITA: How is the broad ground work assignment that the CGIL gives to the function of the trade union defined in comparison with the functions that are its own instead of those of the parties?

NOVELLA: It is true that when we emphasize with so much force the function of the trade union in society, someone could say: but what about the parties? Actually, our position does not diminish the position and the sphere of the parties at all,

which, we know is very broad because of the task of explanation and the profundity of the perspectives, which are much broader and have a much more distant vision. It is true that today as a trade union organization we are going appreciably beyond the immediate problems of the workers; still, we think that the State, the government and the parties need a presence more active than the trade unions precisely for a better explanation of their activities. The trade union obviously has a more limited and more immediate view of certain problems but we believe that just because it is acting under the stimulus of immediate problems, of specific problems, it has a right to be more in the forefront, more esteemed in our society. So much more than the owner organizations, they exercise this function in effect, even if they have no legal recognition.

SANTI: We not only do not intend to intervene in what is the sphere of activity of the parties but we claim a particular function for the syndicate in Italian society, we stress the autonomy of the trade union and we specify its specific role and activity. And this is also a condition for trade union unity.

FOA: I should like to add a personal observation: I believe that we cannot limit ourselves to a conception of our claims for a new function in democratic society only through claims against the state and its organs. In our discussions we speak of the struggle to put the Constitution into effect, but we also speak of the trade union as the organizer of democratic life. There is one direct action which the trade union believes it must number among its tasks: the organization of democracy in society. Each day that passes we observe with greater clarity that the complex of decisive economic choices passes less and less through the official organs of the State. If the proper seat of economic decisions were always and only the State (the Parliament, the government, public administration), it is clear that the ground on which the contradictions of capitalistic groups explode would be the natural ground in which we make our claims for a place in democracy; in the reality of the facts the organs of the State today are always stronger with respect to decisive economic choices; these are always prior to the initiative of the Parliament and of the government, which intervene as auxiliary elements in the face of the economic choice made by dominant groups. This is why we can conceive of our claim for a new place in democratic life only by reinforcing and enriching in ourselves and in the masses the elements of conscience, of discussion and of control over the basic choices in the place where they are verified. For this reason the things that Scheda said about the trade union in the place of work, as the primary seat of real economic power, assume great importance. We should not wish to be deceived into thinking that we could

work up action for a democratic concentration in the tests of the organs of the State if we do not establish sufficient strength in the place where economic choices are really made.

#### Contradictions of the CISL

ROMAGNOLI: When we pose the problem of a new status of the trade union in a democratic society we pose a problem directed to the external part of the trade union, but an internal problem too, in so far as we propose for us and for other trade union central organizations the objective of having greater power and hence of being stronger, starting from the true source of the trade union's power, which is the factory, the place of work, in order to succeed in building this contractual power at all levels of society. To us it seems that in this aspect in the CISL - and not only in this one - there are rather profound contradictions. Let us take art. 39. The CISL rejects the regulation of it and without hesitation maintains that if the menace of regulation had to be brought near, the necessity of a constitutional change would arise. The latter does it in the name of trade union freedom trying to present itself as a champion of total autonomy of the trade union united in opposition to any power and any intervention. But actually, then, we see that the whole policy of the CISL suffers from a constant subordination; since in its elections it does not succeed in being completely autonomous and therefore to propose for itself, for the trade unions, for the workers, that objective that we are proposing for this purpose, i.e. that of a contractual power of the trade union at all levels, such that it would have the capability of cutting into first place at the place of work, in the factory, and then at all the economic and social elections of the country. We believe however that in the preliminary plan proposed by the CGIL is the way to overcome this contradiction both in regard to art. 39 and more generally. For this reason we also find an objectively unitary content, in this diverse individuation of ours, of the power of the trade union and of its function in a democratic society. Our polemic with the CISL concerning art. 39, placed in this framework, i.e. of a new function of the trade union in democratic society cannot be the cause for the break in relations among the trade unions; on the contrary it is because of its profoundly unitary content because no work, no trade union militant can escape the requirement that the trade union establish itself in society as a democratic force, as the organizer of the workers' interests which in themselves are democratic and can give an autonomous contribution to democracy, subordinate neither to owner choices nor to government

choices, nor to party choices.

SANTI: I agree. But I should not want us involuntarily to come to underestimate the political importance of the claim against the State for recognition of this function of the trade union, because this claim, which does not remain naturally in a state of invocation or exhortation, but is given substance in action and in a continuous struggle of the trade union, is in short a battle for Italian democracy, for the enactment of the Constitution.

RINASCITA: We should now like you to tell us something about discussions more particularly about demands, first of all about the struggle for wage increases.

FOA: Wage action is and remains, as is natural, a direct, immediate irreplaceable arm of the trade union. In Italian society of today the wage question is the one which expresses perhaps better than any other the contradiction which exists between the real conditions of life and work of the great masses on the one hand, and, on the other, the objective possibilities offered by scientific and technical progress and also the ever growing subjective requirements of the workers. We must be fully aware - I believe - that a certain limit, which for many decades has characterized the conduct of the working movement - which we sometimes call "the wall of the proletarian condition", by which it was accepted somehow that the proletariat was also characterized as a class through a distinct and in some way inferior way of life to that of the ruling classes - this limit and this wall are broken irrevocably. Today the proletariat is leaving the historic confines of its status in life and claims free access to the living conditions of the higher classes, in accordance with all the possibilities offered by the development of production. This process is aided and facilitated by greater diffusion of knowledge taking place today through which the stimulus for claims tends to grow objectively and historically and will more and more oppose the subordinate relationship of labor and the scale of compensation in a monopolistic society like the Italian one. In Italy we have a situation of inferiority in wages even relative to other capitalistic countries, which in part is due to historical reasons and in part to chance. A late and rapid industrialization with the perseverance of broad pre-capitalistic and backward sectors, only in recent years struck and assaulted by the entry of capital in force. The disparities in development in Italy have been and are still extremely serious and this contributes to the insufficient homogeneity and without doubt to an inferiority in the average level

in the system of compensation. There is, then, in connection with this situation extensive unemployment which in turn is connected with disparity in development. In short, trade union division has a strong effect on the lag in compensation: the events of the last few years have confirmed that each time trade union division is partially overcome enormous possibilities of advancement for the workers are opened.

RINASCITA: In this comparison, the particular subject of disparities and of disequilibrium in compensation today demands, it seems to us, special attention.

FOA: Without a doubt this is one of the most serious problems facing us: it is a question of disequilibria of a territorial character, conditioned by the diverse level of development in the regions and by the varying degree of intensity of the average capital put into various regions; it is also a question of disequilibria related to elements of honest-to-goodness discrimination which derive from extra-economic elements determined by custom, by a cultural lag: disequilibria in compensation based on sex and age. Elements of discrimination and uncivilized elements, which are used by industrial and agrarian capitalism in order to increase the base of accumulation, and which the same technological development renders more fruitful because of the ease of substituting manual labor and hence of the general lowering of the artisans' position.

RINASCITA: And how do you intend to face these problems? Here fundamental questions come up. Since in this situation there is also someone who prefers a line of this type: in order to reduce the distances we hold back the development of more advanced incursions in connection with demands, i.e. incursions where improvements are possible.

FOA: We have forcefully rejected a line of the type: under current conditions in our country, it would be a suicidal solution. Besides, I would say that to some extent we have had this experience: for a number of years we have not put forward demands where objective and subjective conditions existed for rapid development but not for this reason has a redistribution of national income or a relative greater homogeneity occurred. Any holding back of the wage dynamic in advanced zones would only have the effect of adding to the accumulation of the monopolistic and oligopolistic base, besides the fact of creating a paternalistic margin on which the future division of the trade unions is grafted. Therefore, I repeat, we categorically reject a policy of wage containment for more advanced zones:

we consider the development of demands in the more advanced zones an element which facilitates unity of the workers through having better wages and better living conditions.

We think that the problem of inequalities must be met on the plane of demands and on the general economic plane. We are working against inequality, fighting in order that labor may be valued for the value it brings and not because of sex or age, or because of the geographical restrictions of the worker who does the work. We are giving a lot of attention to increase of demands in various forms in order to reduce inequalities, utilizing all possibilities which come to us, even those deriving from the offended spirit of the working masses, with the aim of pushing forward compensatory and normative demands. We are facing the problem, then, also on the politico-economic plane, immediate action in connection with demands alone would not be enough in the growing disequilibrium existing today in economic conditions. We believe we must face, control and orient, with the pressure of the masses, the direction of investments; this is why we are fighting for an increase in investments in the South; this is why we are also introducing elements of a sectoral character; this is why we are carrying forward together the struggle for jobs and the struggle for wages, struggles which cannot be absolutely separated. In other words, once more the bad actions of the oligopolies are being discovered and punished. The struggle of the masses must tend towards a homogeneous development. We cannot trust to spontaneity nor to empirical utilization of existing possibilities. The utilization of existing possibilities must be seen within a coordinated and guided process, first at the class level but also at the general level, with the aim of making sure that the whole wage sector and the whole sector of the economy moves; diversely, with different rates according to sectors, business groups and territory; but the unity of the movement must be there. Giving unity to a situation which tends more and more to become differentiated and disjointed is today one of the most important trade union tasks. We, as Romagnoli said, feel strongly about the contradictions of the capitalistic, monopolistic process of development which is in effect and we must take account of them; but we do not accept them; we are fighting to overcome these contradictions which are also in our midst, in order to give a unity in the making of demands to the whole movement, and in its differentiations.

ROMAGNOLI: I'm in agreement with Foa's reply and I would like to insist on a point of his intervention. In substance, we have reversed the position that wished to hold back the



higher zones in order to facilitate the raising of lower wages; we do not accept the theory according to which a delay in the general raise in wages is conceded by higher zones. No, the delay is conceded by the lower zones. Our action points simultaneously in two directions; on the one hand to aid and support with the greatest vigor and push forward into the zones and classes where wages are higher and, at the same time to put the brakes on this development, since there are precisely lower wage levels existing in other territories and in other regions, in other classes and sectors.

#### The Wage Fan.

RINASCITA: But isn't there the risk that the articulation of your move for demands may appear contradictory, may appear, that is, as a push which does not liquidate wage disparities but ends up widening the fan of disparity.

ROMAGNOLI: In a certain sense this is true but only in a certain sense: in the sense that this can cause a further opening of the wage fan. But the thing that we must evaluate is something else: in which direction do we set this fan? If we set it towards the high and breaking a de facto crystallization of wages it is in any event a positive fact. It is also true that a fan towards the high, which leads definite classes to have a contractual wage or a de facto wage which is absolutely double that of other classes, can be an element of objective division of workers and employers. But we are currently acting because this push towards the high, which comes from more advanced zones, is holding the whole movement back. Moreover, we are putting the accent on the elements of territorial disparity and hence of the push towards the high for wages in the zones and the territories where they are lower; adding however that here the push is always connected with pressure for a diverse increase in jobs. And we are putting a particular emphasis on disparities relative to sex and age. Today, contrary to what may be believed, the more acute element of internal contradiction in the ordering of de facto wages in Italy is this: the profound disparity which exists in comparisons of youths and women. This disparity acts within each territory, each class, each sector, each factory and constitutes a serious delay in the ultimate increase in wages. For this reason we are carrying forward the struggle for wage parity for women and for youths, which are therefore not sectoral demands which concern only women and youths, but demands which are decisive for the whole labor situation in all industrial sectors as well as in commerce and in agriculture.

SCHEDA: There is another question. It must be recognized that the existence of a wage system by zones, sanctioned by an inter-confederation agreement which dates from '54, today constitutes, without doubt, an element of delay, of restraint on the development of a wage dynamic and on completely effective action against the disparity. Thus the legitimate demand arises as to whether it is not opportune to try, on an inter-confederation scale, to modify this wage system which creates in the country 13 district zones, and within the compass of the zones themselves, other special situations. This is a problem that the CGIL has posed, giving itself the objective, in some of its resolutions to achieve a modification of these agreements which may improve this wage structure. Our position is different. We think that the modification of this unfavorable system, this cloak which prevents initiatives for wage demands from developing fully must occur not through an improvement in the present ordering of wages but through a de facto overcoming of it which must happen via an all-inclusive negotiation at all levels and on the line of a contractual policy for demands on a national scale. I wanted to make this very clear because at times, in provinces less favored by this wage system there arises, even in our organizations, the demand for general provisions in order to achieve an approach on the matter of wages in comparisons with other provinces. We do not reject demands in themselves if they are sacrosanct and legitimate. But it is a matter of having a clear objective: which must not be so much to improve the actual wage system with new initiatives at the confederation level but to give to the movement for demands an impetus such that it would allow the elimination of this cloak.

Trade union autonomy.

RINASCITA: In the things you have said, the topic of trade union autonomy has been met under different guises. We would like to probe this argument in more general terms. The Catholic press, for example, is developing a lively controversy on this topic.

ROMAGNOLI: On the same point, in this controversy we are receiving and are stressing a positive recognition in our comparisons. All those who have written until now in various Catholic newspapers on the subject of the CISL, the ACLI / Associazione Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani - Christian Associations of Italian Workers / etc. recognize that the topics of the CGIL are the result of an autonomous elaboration by the militants and directors of the CGIL; moreover they recognize that a platform worked out in this way, attests to the autonomous

character of the CGIL and of the development of an autonomous trade union policy of its own. It is true that this recognition is done in a distorted manner; often with an argument of this type, approximately: "The Topics of the CGIL had given rise to great hopes concerning the autonomy of the confederation; but unfortunately the facts point to the contrary, etc., etc.". But the manner is secondary; what interests me is this positive element, this positive recognition of the contents of the CGIL's Topics, of their autonomous elaboration, and hence of an autonomous development of CGIL policy. Recognition - incidentally - which has also come from other parts; from some very interesting comments which appeared in *Punto*, for example; from a rather penetrating, though critical, comment in the comparisons of some aspects of the CGIL's Topics written by Momigliano in *Passato e presente*. But we are coming to the controversial part. What is the main point of the criticism which comes to us at the instigation of the Catholic press, from the DC /Democratico Cristiano - Christian Democratic/ party, from Catholic organizations as well as from the CISL and from decisive political groups? It is said that after the IX Congress of the PCI /Partito Comunista Italiano - Italian Communist Party/ we can no longer believe in the Topics of the CGIL. And this, because the PCI congress has occupied itself with the struggles of the workers, with the demands of the workers; and it is occupied with them with the explicit objective of making a contribution to the development of these struggles, connecting them to general political demands for democracy, economic development, structural reform; connecting them to a way of development towards socialism. This is certain; and, moreover, the same thing has happened at the Naples' Congress of the PSI /Partito Socialista Italiano - Italian Socialist Party/. It is not for us now to defend the positions of the parties; but I believe that we may say that it would be quite difficult to ask the parties to appeal to the working class not to occupy itself with the struggles of the workers and with workers' demands; or to maintain their interest in the struggles of the workers within the narrow limit of immediate trade union, or worse, corporation, demands. It is legitimate that parties which appeal to the working class be forced to take immediate action for the prospect of a different ordering of society. What is strange in this? We do not see how this can be utilized in order to refute the autonomy of the CGIL. The CGIL has made moreover a precise choice, deciding to liquidate, to dissolve the factions not insofar as they are trade union factions (as such, you know, they not only survive but see their function in the internal life of the organization proclaimed openly, in the part reserved for statute modifications), but insofar as they are "transmission belts" of the parties. This is a phase

of a process long in operation in the CGIL and which is precisely a process of autonomy.

RINASCITA: This point is well defined. As you well know, they reply to you that you have set this process in motion by dint of things ...

ROMAGNOLI: I know it very well! How many times - and even on the part of our friends - we hear it said that the choice of trade union autonomy on the part of the CGIL is a choice imposed by enemies, a concession made in the face of certain attacks, et cetera? Things are not that way. Certainly, in the way the trade union unity was determined with the Rome agreement it was inevitable that in that phase, for a certain period, relations between trade union factions and parties were of a certain nature; but it is a fact that the internal life of the CGIL, as we have constituted it during recent years, is not based on a relationship of compromises reached at the highest levels by representatives of the various factions, but, on the contrary, on an autonomous elaboration which takes place within the compass of the Confederation, at all levels, through a democratic process. In short, in the choice of the general trade union line and action in connection with demands we were able to choose two courses; that of accords or compromises among representatives which in this case would no longer be trade union factions but party factions, and that of an elaboration which would start with an individuation of phenomena, with an analysis of these problems and with a search for solutions carried out in common, through a democratic debate. This is the course we have chosen. Is it only a choice of method? We believe that it is the true and proper choice of a line. This choice of ours has posed serious problems of development of trade union democracy and first of all, of the development and building of trade union democracy on the job, of basic trade union articulation, from the class trade union up to the national trade unions. We have thus been faced at the same time with the problems of all the trade unions and not only ours. I shall cite a very simple example: during 1959 we have had great unitary contractual struggles. A great contribution has come to these struggles - we recognize it - from all the trade union organizations that have participated in them, from all the workers who are fighting in these organizations and who are not fighting in any trade union. An element of strength and unity which we have carried into this fight has been, however, the method adopted by our trade union organizations /Federazione Impiegati e Operai Metallurgici - Federation of metal Workers and Employees/ (by the FICM) for example, for

the formation of the body of contractual demands; the method of a mass democratic consultation in the factories, thanks to which the FICM has been able to formulate demands which were the result of an autonomous and democratic elaboration of its own, but were, also, unitary in themselves, in so far as they expressed the orientations and the stimulus for the working masses who are not fighting in the FICM but nevertheless sympathize with it. And this too demonstrates the care in the important choice which we have made in our initiative for autonomy.

UIL and transmission belts.

RINASCITA: This for the CGIL. But what is the position of the other trade union organizations in this regard?

ROMAGNOLI: The question is very important, first of all because as is recognized in the same controversy carried out against the CGIL on this subject, autonomy is one of the decisive elements for the development of unity among the trade unions and for the prospect of organic unity: we can arrive at unity only if we start with complete autonomy of the various trade unions existing today, autonomy in confrontations with the owner, the government, and the parties. Now, in the other trade unions this process of autonomy is striving a good deal to develop. If you observe, the same polemic which the CISL is making against us concerning trade union autonomy is refuted by positions of subordination: when it denies trade union autonomy of the CGIL, because there are communists in the CGIL, the CISL itself introduces a priori an element of discrimination which reflects its subordination to party positions: the DC party. As regards the UIL, its subordination to parties must not be demonstrated by us. We know which accusations have been mutually exchanged at the congress of the PSDI / Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano - Italian Democratic Socialist Party / on the functioning of transmission belts in two directions: from the UIL to the party and from the party to the UIL, an account of internal events also and games currently in vogue. And then we go deeper. Autonomy is not only put in comparison with parties but in relation to owners and governments. And in this aspect it is measured in trade union policy choices, in contractual action which is done at the level of the factory, in trade union negotiations at all levels, in the choices of general policy, which are made. In the CISL and the UIL these choices still present many real points of subordination to an owner policy and to a governmental policy. The very resumption of separate agreements which is taking place these days is the sign of this subordination; no one would be in a position to understand separate agreements at

Montecatini or at FIAT without this determining element, this actual subordination of the policy of the CISL to the management of FIAT or Montecatini. For this reason the battle for autonomy which the CGIL is waging is not only a battle that the CGIL must bring to an end within itself, that is, as a fitting task of autonomy, of development, in essence, of an effective internal trade union democracy of its own; but it has the significance of a more general battle to liberate - if we may adopt this word - all the trade unions from a subordination which is in effect or from the elements of subordination, in essence from the "transmission belts" which can operate starting from various motor centers; those parties or those party factions, those owner groups or that governmental formation or those individual choices in ministerial policy that each minister can make.

NOVELLA: I should like to add that even autonomy by the parties is considered in the light of the historical reality of the labor movement in Italy, and in particular of the manner in which the problem of relations between trade union and party has been put not only in this last decade but also in the fascist period and actually in the pre-fascist period. This is indispensable for a calm estimate. In Italy we have an original situation in comparison with other capitalistic countries: the political movement of the working class was formed much before the trade union movement, whereas in France and in England political movement arose on the basis of a vast development of the trade union movement and struggles in connection with demands; in Italy we have had an opposite process: first the parties were formed, then the trade union organizations. This reality has affected, during the whole pre-fascist period, the life of the trade unions. Immediately after the resumption of democratic life, with the Liberation, the trade union movement - the Confederation of labor - arose under the stimulus of an initiative of political factions. This has been the reality; it must be taken into account, and it would not be right today to criticize the parties for having been the element of stimulus in the formation of the trade union movement. In spite of this, however, the tendency of the trade union movement in Italy, the tendency which there has been wotjom tje CGIL has been to operate more and more autonomously. To the various critics of the Italian trade union movement we can say calmly: examine the point of departure and evaluate the direction in which our trade union movement has gone in the last ten years. Moreover, I should like to say that many of these barbed judgements about the alleged dependence of the trade union movement on the parties are influenced by the limited view that bourgeois groups have of the functions of the trade union. When certain specific tasks of the trade union are not

recognized, as soon as there is a strike it is immediately asserted that it is a matter of a political strike, ordered by a party. Especially, then, if it is a question of strikes which are prolonged for many days, even if only at the local level. If we look outside of Italy we cannot help but see that in the large capitalistic countries, in England, in the United States, in Western Germany, there are often much bigger and prolonged strikes than those which occur in our country. Rather more dramatic strikes, too, and which cut deeply into the economic life of the country, like the recent steel workers' in the United States or those in the shipyard sector in Great Britain. Still, no one has maintained that these were "arranged strikes". In Italy, I repeat, it only takes a strike of a few days duration and immediately an attempt is made to characterize it as "political" or to establish assumed connections with the interests of a party. This because a mistaken reactionary view of the democratic life of the country is held, because that function which is natural and proper to it is not recognized as belonging to the trade union. With a more democratic conception of the social and political life of the country, certain barbed judgements on trade union activity would not occur.

#### Factions in the CGIL.

RINASCITA: Much has been said on questions of autonomy and the democratic life of the trade union; and Romagnoli has already referred to the question of factions. Perhaps a clarification of this point would be useful.

NOVELLA: Yes, factions exist in the CGIL and are recognized by statute. It is an important fact: in other countries this situation does not exist and even in Italy, in other trade union organizations, the existence of internal factions is not recognized. But I am repeating what Romagnoli has already made clear: in speaking of factions we are referring not to political factions but to trade union factions which we maintain have, as such, a reason of their own for being within the trade union organization. In order to understand this difference, we must again join with certain traditions of the labor movement, seeing and understanding the CGIL as being a little like the one who is carrying on the traditional Italian trade union movement. Now we in the past have always had a situation of trade union plurality, although not with the characteristics of today. There was the Confederation of Labor, there were the "white" trade unions, of however limited weight and importance, and there was a trade union movement. These trade union pluralities have not perhaps been well characterized, because the

Confederation of labor has always been for a long time the stronger organization, but it has existed, it was in a certain sense maintained through the fascist period and, when we succeeded in regaining freedom, it manifested itself immediately, notwithstanding the reconstitution of a single trade union organization, with the existence of various internal factions in this organization: the plurality of conceptions which before fascism had given life to a trade union plurality, has thus been reflected in the CGIL with the existence of the factions. We think that it may not be easy to overcome a situation like this one which has been determined historically. Nor on the other hand do we think that the existence of different conceptions must prevent trade union unity. We consider it possible to achieve trade union unity to the extent that explanation of certain activity within a unitary organization is favored, to the extent that the complete overcoming of this diversity of conception is seen as a process to be gone through during the experience of action, during an identification of general objectives, which, in our opinion, must be there at a certain moment in the labor movement. Therefore we conceive of the existence of factions as a function of a unitary policy and as a function of an internal democratic life. Faced with the existence of diversity of conceptions, a condition of democracy is that these different conceptions should have a certain autonomy of elaboration of their own within an autonomous organizations. All this, of course, on the condition that this autonomous activity of the factions be seen as a unitary function, i.e. that the results be internal debates, and the factions have their natural outlet in logical place, i.e., in the unitary petitions of the CGIL.

ROMAGNOLI: I should like to add a small controversial observation. To the proposal of Storti for a so-called democratic trade union unity, i.e. for a trade union unity which excludes the Communists, and for a trade union unity based on a refusal to recognize factions, not only the militants of the CGIL of various factions but also the UIL militants have replied that they have emphasized just exactly what Novella was saying, i.e. that the formation of definite ideal factions in the Italian trade union movement is an historical fact which is not refuted. One of these writers of polemics, In Giustizia, then added an interesting observation: that in order to propose this "unity", Storti himself was forced to turn to the factions instead of to the militants of the party.

Democracy in the trade unions.

FOA: The question of factions is closely connected with the problem of democracy in our organization: if there is an intensive democratic life - as it seems to me that this is developing -



even the life of the factions is being oriented in the positive direction of an enrichment of the whole collective life; if there is a lack in our democratic life, the factions tend to be degraded to transmission belts of the parties. And through a democratic life the problem for us is the general one of any mass organization, i.e. the participation of the workers in the elaboration, in the control of the line. We ourselves feel this problem as a living, present, actual problem which we must not face in abstract terms, but in dynamic and concrete terms of an ever new search directed to the enrichment of our democratic life and with new forms. Another personal consideration: when we discuss the development of our internal democratic life, the necessity of a more extensive relationship with the workers (which is the problem of democracy), we must not forget that we are not an organization of opinion but an organization which has the continuous responsibility for binding decisions regarding workers' living conditions (to call or not to call a strike, to make or not to make an agreement, to choose one line or another...). The development of democratic life therefore is not an end in itself for us but constitutes the condition so that the decisions may be observed by all, i.e. so that there may be the true maximum of discipline in its execution. The real problem is that of creating such conditions through which the decision of the trade union may be observed by all the workers. This is a more and more definite necessity for the trade union in the modern world which qualifies it not as an organization of elaboration of opinions but as an organization which must decide and implement decisions.

RINASCITA: A final question. We know that the CGIL has always fought for trade union unity. But in what terms do you pose this problem today?

SANTI: It is irrefutable that the CGIL has always fought for trade union unity; I would say that on the day after the scission the CGIL set for itself the problem of the reconstitution of trade union unity. The problem however was then posed very often in terms of pure denunciation, of polemics (which does not hurt at all), of demands as well as of reproach for trade union unity which had been shattered. It has been posed instead in its correct terms, in its correct lines, i.e. not in a propagandistic manner, not in diplomatic and tactical terms, since which time it has not been considered as a problem in itself but as a problem which went together with a correct line of CGIL trade union policy; I am referring to the turn - as we call it - of the Directive of April 1955, when, through a serious and courageous re-examination of our positions, of our omissions and our errors, we have begun to outline a correct unitary trade union political line.

Unitary because it took into account the requirements and the demands of the workers, in the broader sense of the term. I believe that we have taken great steps forward on the problem of trade union unity and I believe that the CGIL is the only organization that can boast of having made a decisive contribution to posing the problem in its correct terms and creating conditions for its solution.

Novella has recalled how trade union unity has been realized in Italy, immediately after the Liberation, through an agreement among the parties. This experience has had its validity in a definite historical phase but today we are not thinking at all of a trade union unity which repeats that experience mechanically, that we consider overcome in the process of the development of the trade union's autonomy. Today the problem of trade union unity is posed in terms of autonomy of the trade union. It is not posed as an absorption of the other trade union organizations on the part of a trade union. We think that trade union unity will be realized in creating a new trade union organization, resulting from an autonomous convergence of the various trade union forces which are separate and distinct today. A condition for the realization of trade union unity is the autonomy of the trade union from the government, property owners and the parties. We are tending, that is, towards a "non-ideological" organization, in the sense that it must not borrow the ideology of this or that party but must start with the fact that in recent years, through the fights that have been waged, through the evolution of the political and trade union situation, the consciousness of the objective contrast which exists between the interests of the workers and the interests of the owners has more and more taken root.

We have posed the problem of trade union unity in very advanced and courageous terms. We do not consider that the problem of unity can be resolved by unity of action. We consider unity of action a positive fact but insufficient for the purposes we are proposing. Unity of action has many elements of uncertainty, it exhausts itself at the same moment in which it is realized practically. Today there is a need to put the unitary strength of the workers against the forces and the economic and political groups which dominate the life of the country and which are opposed to a policy of democratic development and social progress. And we will have this only if we achieve organic unity of the trade union movement. I believe that this need is maturing more and more in the consciousness of the workers, just as it is true that other organizations (the CISL and the UIL) have been put in a condition of not being ignorant of this problem any more if they present solutions which are unacceptable to us, in-so-far as they are not unitary. Trade union unity must permit the participation in the autonomous trade union organization of all

workers whatever may be their political opinion and their conception of the line that the trade union must pursue; it must lead to a democratic organization and hence one open to all, such that it permits everyone, Socialist, Communist, Catholic, or Social Democrat, to find himself at his leisure. Participation in this organization must not represent a renunciation of anything on the part of the worker who registers there.

There are big problems which we think can be resolved if we start discussing them: problems of programs, of internal relations. We see no problem that cannot be resolved by common agreement. It is important to honor this necessity which is maturing more and more in the consciousness of the workers. As regards the road towards unity we consider that efforts must be made first of all in the direction of unity in the factory where we have the most advanced trench in the struggle for the redistribution of income in the form of wages and work conditions. Hence the necessity for unity of the labor organisms which exist today in the factory, as, for example, the internal Committee. We do not understand how they may be organizations which speak, for example, of the presence of the trade union in the factory and put at a distance and do not recognize the unitary, representative function, that it can have at this moment, when the trade union is not in the factory, an organism like the internal Committee. Hence unity in the factory, unity in the internal Committee, unity of action of the trade unions, a more complete and richer return from unity not only in action but in the working out of demands, of negotiation and of conclusions. Everything that represents separate negotiation, separate agreement is a policy of trade union separatism, a policy contrary not only to organic trade union unity but to unity of action itself. Through unity in the factory, through complete unity of action we more and more create conditions for unity not only for the policy concerning demands but as regards the general policy towards the basic problems of Italian society, towards the problems of structure which condition the very activity concerning demands of the trade union.

The content of unity.

ROMAGNOLI: I should like to make only one small addition. Santi protests against the turn of 1955, which we have carried forward since then, and stresses what is unity for us today: not only a denunciation against those who do not favor unity, not only an appeal to the masses in order that unity may be reconstituted, but an active obligation to build unity daily first of all in the contents of our ground work. It is necessary to give content to unity. And here there is the very problem of trade union policy.

For this reason unity for the CGIL is not only a chapter of the "Topics" but is a topic - excuse the pun - which is recurring permanently: in the analysis of the past, in the judgement relative to the acquired conquest, and above all in the content of the ground work, from the immediate demands to the function of the trade union in democratic society.

FOA: I too would like to add just a word on the prospects for unity. I am convinced that the line we have chosen is the one which also prepares for the realization of organic unity in the more positive way, because we have posed the problem of relations between trade unions in terms of trade union plurality and not in terms of investigation of the monopoly, we have posed it in terms of mutual prestige and not in terms of mutual destruction. We are persuaded that the day in which we succeed in having the impotent will of monopoly liquidated in other organizations, and hence to get a line based on plurality and on trade union emulation accepted, at that point trade unity will be near.

SANTI: From the point of view also of the structures of the internal life of our organization we are forcing ourselves to create the proper conditions for this organic trade union unity. An organic trade union unity would be, at least in its first phase, inconceivable without recognition of the reality of the various trade union factions. And hence the recognition that we are giving to this phenomenon of factions within the CGIL represents a direct contribution to trade union unity.

NOVELLA: I should like to draw attention to the fact that today the question of trade union unity as a element of contractual power of the trade unions, is put in very different terms from how it was put in 1948 at the moment of the split. The economic and financial, as well as trade union power of Italian capitalistic groups is today much stronger than then when we were, basically, only at the beginning of a phase of restoration of the power that the managerial classes had had under the fascist regime, but it had afterwards been somewhat weakened. If, abandoning an excessively retrospective view of things even as regards the general political situation, the problems of unity are faced with clear view of what the Confederation of industry, the Confederation of agriculture represent today in our country, what certain firms - FIAT, Edison, Montecatini, as well as certain large State enterprises, of the IRI /Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale - Institute for Industrial Recovery/ and the ENI /Ente Nazionale Idrocarbon - National Hydrocarbon Corporation/ at a reconsideration of the problem and therefore at the necessity of speeding up the process of unification which, in my opinion, must follow the path of unity at the company level, first of all.

IRAQI COMMUNIST DOCTRINARY STATEMENT  
(Interpretations--Basic Foundations for National Unity)

Ittihad ash-Sha'b

Author: 'Aziz ash-Shaykh

15 March 1960, Baghdad

Page 7, Arabic daily np (organ of unlicensed faction of Iraqi Communist Party)

Discussion of the national union requires that we analyze some of the mistaken ideas that have again appeared in the press. We thought that these ideas were defeated once and for all in Iraq when their proponents betrayed the Revolution in a series of conspiracies against the progressive Republican regime, which is the outcome of the Iraqi Revolution.

One of the main concepts which we would like to analyze here before we embark on a discussion of the problem of national union is the alleged non-existence of a distinct class of national bourgeoisie in the Iraqi society. Through this, the bourgeoisie attempt to mask the true nature of the class society in Iraq and therefore to de-emphasize class struggle in that society. They conclude that there is really no need for a multi-party system and that the conduct of political affairs should be left to the party of the national bourgeoisie alone. Naturally, those who speak in those terms find any discussion of the national union both futile and disturbing.

But until the leaders of the national bourgeoisie admit the existence of different social classes with different interests but common basic objectives, and until they are convinced of the necessity of different parties each representing a social class, we are unable to discuss the issues with them in terms which are clear to both sides and in a manner that would lead to an honest understanding over the issues of democracy and the national union.

From our point of view, which is shared by most democratic statesmen in Iraq, the problem which we are here discussing is not a barren issue such as that of the egg and the hen, but a very fundamental issue; one upon whose proper solution hinges the fate of democracy in the country. It therefore behooves us all to deal with this problem objectively, scientifically and with patience.

We realize in the light of our Marxist-Leninist teachings and from the experience of several countries - some advanced and some backward - and especially the Asian countries which are

similar to us in many respects - that by simply ignoring the fact that classes do exist the reality is not thereby altered. This unrealism merely hampers the progress towards a better solution.

The rulers of the United Arab Republic have ignored these social facts. They have imposed their own laws on the people to serve the interests of the upper Egyptian bourgeoisie. After abolishing all political liberties, they imposed their so-called National Union. And when the people refused to join this "National Union", they resorted to terrorism and violence in order to force it on them.

The majority of the Iraqi circles refuse to adopt these methods; they fully uphold democratic methods which mean in essence that complete freedom shall be granted to all classes to organize their own social and political bodies and to express freely their views on current and future issues. The daily Al Ahali with its known record has participated in defending democracy under the various regimes in the country. In view of this, it is indeed very strange to find this paper adopt, as it did recently, ideas which are so alien to democracy, particularly at this stage when democracy is passing through a difficult test in Iraq. Millions of people in Iraq and outside, especially in the Arab countries, are watching this experiment in the hope that it would be a success.

#### Analysis of Class Society in Iraq

If we were to ignore the national or religious divisions of the Iraqi people into Arabs and Kurds or Moslems and Christians, etc., we may conclude that developments in Iraq, especially during the past forty years have created five major and distinct classes; namely, the landlords, the bourgeoisie, the lower bourgeoisie, the peasants, and the workers. The basis which we, communists, adopt in defining the different classes is productive activity, its type, the ownership of the means of production, the techniques of production, the role of each group in the productive process, and its relative share in the fruits of production.

In the nature of the imperialist domination of Iraq during the era which was ended by the July 14 Revolution, the interests of the landowners were indissolubly tied with the interests of imperialism, just as relationships of varying closeness developed between imperialism, and the upper Iraqi bourgeoisie.

The Revolution of July 14, 1958 gained its progressive features because it was directed against imperialist domination; its democratic features were derived from its opposition to Feudalism, which is the main support of imperialism in this

country. This victorious Revolution - disregarding for the moment its organization and leadership - is considered a true popular revolt designed to serve the interests of all four classes in Iraq upon whom it must rely for support. Such a revolution is bound to develop these classes and therefore to increase the differences between them not to abolish or reduce these differences. This is what has happened. To say that Iraq does not have a bourgeoisie because it has only recently emerged from imperialist and feudal domination is not true, because the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system grow under the aegis of imperialism. The bourgeois revolution, (in its classical form) rises during the phase of feudal disintegration. The bourgeois revolt does not create a bourgeois system; it merely opens the way for the fuller development and domination of society by the bourgeoisie. Each system grows in the shadow of the system that preceded it.

Despite the existence of basic differences between our Revolution and the classical bourgeoisie revolution, the Iraqi bourgeoisie developed and acquired its peculiar national and material characteristics and its political organization in a period of imperialist and feudal pressure. Such abnormal conditions have made its growth somewhat unusual. The July 14 Revolution has in effect opened the way for the Iraqi bourgeoisie to develop fully and quickly. Some nationalist papers have published statistics derived from official and private sources reflecting the extent of this growth. Most important among these is the report of the National Federation of Iraqi Industries. The significance of these facts is not diminished by the contention that the Iraqi bourgeoisie is weak when compared with the bourgeoisie of other more developed countries or with the growth of the working classes in Iraq.

The July 14 Revolution has achieved many important objectives in various fields of endeavour. None of these objectives have been directed against the national bourgeoisie.

We, the Communists who believe that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system did not include in our program any socialist objective, because we believe that such objectives are out of place at this stage of the development of our country. We have, on the contrary, strongly denounced all misleading propaganda emanating from the Baath Party, - the self-styled champions of Socialism. We realize that the Socialist system cannot be established until certain social and material conditions are satisfied. These conditions do not exist in present day Iraq and are not likely to be realized until the democratic progressive aims of the July 14 Revolution are first realized. We have in fact formulated a comprehensive plan of action for our Party which includes all the objectives whose attainment would prepare the way for the progress of socialism.

We do not hide our belief that Socialism is the highest social order attained by humanity during its history, and we oppose any distortion of the concepts of scientific socialism which seek to divert attention from the class struggle to exploit the wealth producing hard working classes in the name of socialism, exactly as the rulers of Cairo are doing in the interest of their greedy monopolist groups. We are not opposed to the growth of the national bourgeoisie; in fact our program contains many provisions designed to protect the bourgeoisie and to ensure its growth and prosperity. We are merely attempting, as the political representatives of the working classes and especially the farmers, to limit the differences between us and the political representatives of the bourgeoisie by defending the basic interests of the working classes; namely, raising wages, improving working conditions, preventing arbitrary dismissal, combatting unemployment and mitigating the evils suffered by the working classes.

We have always declared that we subordinate these objectives to the common national objective of defending national independence and developing the democratic institutions of the Iraqi Republic in the cause of world peace. When we champion the cause of the working classes in their struggle to advance themselves, and attain their most urgent class objectives, we are motivated primarily by the firm belief that these objectives are consistent with the basic principles of the Revolution. We believe that democracy and a feudal system are incompatible, that social progress is not possible if the working classes remain backward and that national welfare is not enhanced if people died of hunger or remained in ignorance, poverty and disease.

#### The Existence of Many Parties is a Necessity

The existence of four social classes calls for the existence of different political parties each representing one of these classes. In a class society where class interests may be in conflict - even if partially - there must exist parties which differ in their objectives, methods and ideology. It is not essential that these parties shall coincide with their respective classes. In fact, if we exclude the working class, we find that the various social classes consist of different groupings; the bourgeoisie has a larger number of sub-classes because of the multi-national composition of Iraq. Therefore, it is not unusual to find a large number of parties representing the bourgeoisie and the small bourgeoisie. The only thing which is unacceptable is that there should be more than one party representing the



working class, because this class has undivided interests, although we have to exclude here the small group of laborers who in fact belong to the bourgeoisie and who represent the capitalists among the working classes. We must hasten to add that the fact that some laborers have joined bourgeois parties is due to the lack of class awareness among them.

- The working classes in any particular country cannot be divided itself into two major camps: one representing the laboring classes and their allies and the second representing the national bourgeoisie which includes all groups of capitalists.
- On the basis, the parties in our society often consist of a group of bourgeois parties and one communist party, the latter representing the workers. This picture is not altered by the fact that some groups appropriate to themselves the title of the Communist Party.

#### The National Union is a Pact of Two National Blocs

But the division of society into various classes or into two major blocs does not contradict the necessity of creating a national union to include them all. On the contrary, as long as there are common interests and objectives among these groups, it is necessary to have a National Union. No union including any number of parties is a true national union unless it includes the two major camps. If we assume for instance that such a union is formed but that the Communist Party was left out, we are forced to conclude that this so-called union is a mere bourgeois bloc. Under the conditions existing in Iraq, such a union must include all parties and should be aimed at the imperialists and their allies.

We have explained that there is an urgent need - at least theoretically - for a National Union. In fact, such a union may not be created for various reasons. It is imperative first to remove all obstacles impeding the creation of the Union, and we submit that these obstacles cannot be fundamental or basic objections and do undoubtedly inflict much harm on all social classes and on the national interest. Only the imperialists benefit from this. At times some groups may believe that they also benefit from the delay in creating the National Union, but their gains are temporary and are at the expense of the general welfare.

A party may imagine that conditions are favorable to its gaining control and to attaining a position of leadership. This form of self-delusion can only lead to damaging the true interests of the party and sowing dissension in the ranks of

Nationalist movement which opens the way to the enemies of the Revolution to sabotage its achievements.

It appears to us that some of the obstacles impeding the creation of a national union are trivial. Others are quite serious and important. But they are all secondary considerations which must be solved with speed and firmness. If these difficulties are allowed to continue they will create further misunderstanding between the various national groups. Matters have been made worse by the recurrent conspiracies of the imperialists and their allies, and although these conspiracies have been exposed and crushed they have left behind them considerable ill-feeling. To this we should add that building a new social structure is an experiment and a gigantic task from which new intellectual, scientific and political trends might arise.

Irrespective of other considerations, we are all members of one nation which rebelled and emerged victorious and we are on the path to greater victories and to realizing the fruits of our victories. We have one common enemy known to all of us, and we must seek a meeting place for all nationalist groups.

We believe that the only way to attain the objectives of the Revolution is for the political representatives of the various classes to come together in order to resolve outstanding problems, and we maintain that a solution is possible, especially as experience prior to the Revolution has demonstrated that national unity is neither an impossibility nor a new idea. The success of the July 14 Revolution which has solved the major problem of Iraq is a very good proof of our thesis. Furthermore, the complete support of the masses for the Revolution and the Republic and their willingness to sacrifice in order to preserve the Republic against plots and dangers and to consolidate its gains are evidence that this great people, a National Union with great enthusiasm, upon which they would confer complete confidence and support. A National Union including all parties and non-partisan groups, lending support to the national government and uniting the army and the people will be a stronghold for the great Iraqi Revolution and a thorn in the eyes of the imperialists and their allies.

- END -

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